

JAINISM IN MEDIEVAL INDIA (1300-1800)

PROLOGUE

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It is essential to weigh the contemporary social and political background while considering the conditions and thriving of Jainism in mediaeval India. During this period, Indian society was traditionally divided into Hindu and Jain religion. Buddhism had well-nigh disappeared from Indian scenario. The Indian socio-cultural infrastructure faced sufficient change owing to the influence of Islam that infiltrated into India through the medium of the Arab, the Turk, the Mughal and the Afghan attacks. Though the new entrants too were by and large divided into *Sunni*, *Shiya* and *Sufi* sects, they were all bound firmly to Islam. Ofcourse, Islam brought in new life-values and life-styles in Indian life owing to which the inevitability for reconsidering the shape of social structure and traditional-philosophico facets was felt, perhaps very badly. And this very condition caused rise of some new sects like Bhakti, Saint and Sikh invigorated primarily by the Vedantist, Ramanuja, Madhav, Nimbark, Ramanand Chaitanya, Vallabha etc. With this cultural background, centuries old Digambara and Shvetambara *amnay* (tradition) was telling its own separate tale. Fore more than one reason, these branches were further divided into sects, sub-sects, *ganas*, *gachchas*, *anvayas*, *sanghas* & C. as time rolled by. Same way, Bhattaraka, Chaityavasi, Taranpanth, Sthanakvasi practices came into view introducing their own religious formalities, life-fashions, code of conduct, and to some extent the philosophical views. Such being the condition, Jainism of medioeval India witnessed its wide extension. At the same time, it met with certain difficulty also. Jain population was reduced in comparison to the total population. The salience of the Jain community and the writing class people of this time has been that of incessant writing of scriptures, treatises, memoirs, panegyrics, and mostly dated inscriptions on the images and walls of the temples. As a result of this, the historians, the sociologists, the researches of religion and philosophy got an opportunity to study the original sources systematically and scientifically. The Jain society believing in the doctrine of *aparigraha* (non-accumulation) remained firm to their faith all through the long journey of the history of Jainism. and, its, *gurus*, *sadhus* (Monks in general) *acharyas* (spiritual leaders), *Pandits*, *ganis*, (Monks of a few years standing) and their enthusiastic followers providing religious leadership went on constructing temples, *viharas*, *upashrayas* (monasteries) etc. in different architectural styles, installing images of the *Tirthankaras* and their so-called presiding deities (*Sashan*, *Devi-Devata*) like *Lokapalas* uardians of the cardinal points of the universe) *Yakashas-Yakshis* (Vegetation spirits), *Padmavati*, *Ambika*, *Dikpalas* (guardians of the directions), *Chakreshvari*, and *Kshetrapalas* like Manabhadra and Manibhadra escorting pilgrimages with grandeur and attraction, and celebrating festivals and festivities befitting the occasion. Though there was an intolerant and non-liberal foreign rule in contemporary India, the Jain-world did not allow any exception to creep in even under such a situation. Even then, it will have to be accepted that the force and energy of Jain religion was waning; it remained effective in only some parts of north, west central and south India, as will be discussed later on.

It will be in the fitness of things, here, to discuss the contemporary political condition. This time, a decisive turn came in Indian history in 1206. The Delhi Sultanate, established this year, gradually emerged as a central power. This happened at the cost of the disintegrating Rajput powers of north India. During the

Khilji period, the different dynasties ruling across the Narmada to the far South had to witness decline. During, the Tughlaq period, the Delhi Sultanate marched towards weakness, uncertainty and disintegration. After the decline of the Tughlaq empire, there emerged independent Muslim rule in Jaunpur, Bihar, Bengal, Gujarat and Malwa. But, inspite of the unfavourable circumstances, the contemporary Rajput powers of west India facing barbarism and vandalism of the Muslim attackers continued to keep up their cultural existence. This very time, there were to main powers in India on the political scene- (1) Muslim empire of Bahamani, and (2) Hindu empire of Vijayanagar. Though Bahamani empire had disintegrated in the 16th century, its concerted power could, however, won success in defeating and destroying Vijayanagar empire. Babar's attack in 1526 established Mughal empire in India, and Delhi and Agra became its headquarters. After Babar and his son Humayun, main Mughals Akbar (*Padshah* in Jain literature), Jahangir, Shahjahan and Aurangzeb were respectively enthroned on the Mughal throne. After Auragzeb, the Mughal empire gradually inclined towards disintegration and decline. Thereat, opportunity occurred for witnessing later Mughal sources. Taking advantage of the situation, many provincial *satrapas* (rulers) proclaimed themselves independent the ultimate consequence of which was the termination of the Mughal sovereignty and heralding of the British sovereignty.

This general survey of the mediaeval Indian history is more or less connected with the development and existence of different Jain sects and creeds. To be more explicit, it will be proper here to discuss in detail the different Jain sects and the relations of their leaders with different dynasties.

JAINISM VIS-A-VIS OR V/S DELHI SULTANATE

Barring, the Lodi dynasty, all rulers of Delhi were of Turk origin. They were all staunch followers of Islam, and intolerant towards the Hindus and the Jains. According to them, these Indians were Kafirs. For their trivial military, religious and political interest, they did not hesitate even a mite to shed blood of the non-Muslims and plunder their property. They were totally iconoclasts. It was a part of their religious activities to destroy temples, idols and deprive property of the Jain and the Hindu temples and the businessmen. Qua rulers, these foreigners did not provide patronage to Jain and other religions and their sacred places. The rigid religious injunctions given by their staunch *ulemas* were the last word to them. Their sole interest was to convert Indians to Islam, and to impose extra and heavy taxes on those who did not accept their religion, and to suppress them a hundred other ways.

Even under such incongenial conditions the Jains were not disappointed. By virtue of their word-softness and skill, property, submissive and docile conduct, and intellectual ability, they alleviated and pacified intolerance and selfishness of these rulers to some extent.

There are proofs to prove the unbroken and continuous existence of Jainism during Sultanate India. During the reign of Shahabuddin Muhammed Ghori, Jainacharya Basantkirti was wielding his influence and filling in an importantly effective role. Delhi has been called Yoginipur in contemporary Jain literature. Here then lived many wealthy Jain families most of whom were the members of the Agrawal caste. It is because of this that the transcription of 'Panchastikaya' could be possible during the reign of even fanatic Balban. Similarly, during the intolerant rule of Alauddin Khilji, Thakkur Pandit wrote 'Yashodharcharit' at the instance of Bisal Sahu. Exactly at the same time, a Digambar *acharya* Madhavasena, being invited by purandas, the city-*seth*, not only impressed the Sultan by his personality and learning, but also established the seat (*Patta*) of the Mathur Gachcha of the Kashtha *sangha* in the village Kashtha near Delhi. The Nandi *sangha* of Digambar *amnay* (tradition) also did not lag behind. One *acharya* Prabhachandra of that *sangha* also came to Delhi and succeeded in establishing his seat over there. It is no less surprising that Alauddin Khilji paid respect to Digambar *Muni* Shrutviraswami, Shevatambar *Suri* Jinachandra, and *Yati* Ramachandra.

During the reign of Alauddin's son and successor Kutubuddin Mubarakshah (1316-20), one Jinachandra (the third) *acharya* of the Khartar *gachcha* came to Delhi in 1318, and succeeded in receiving *firman* (order or decree) to perform journey to various Jain *tirthas*. One of his followers amongst Jain *shravakas* (lay votaries) was Thakkur Pheru who was the royal president of the mint and was an established and a learned author of books on mineral assaying.

Comparatively the impact of the Jains on Delhi rulers during the Tughlaq period was more. After the demise of Jinachandra, his able successor Jinakushal seated on the seat (*patta*). Owing to the influence of Thakkur Pheru, Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq honoured him and issued him a *firman* for journey to Gujarat *tirthas*. Completing the journey of these *tirthas*, Jinakushal reached Sindhu-desh (governed by a Muslim ruler) where he breathed his last in 1332 at Devarajpur. His seat was held by Jinapadma *Sūri* who equally proved influential.

During the reign of Ghiyasuddin, two *Pragvat* Jains-Sura and Vira came to Delhi and were appointed to the high posts. Similarly, the Sultan issued a *firman* allowing a Shrimal *shravaka* Gajapati to carry-out his pilgrimages.

Son and successor of Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq was Muhammad Tughlaq who remained the Sultan of Delhi from 1325 to 1351. The mentionable names of the Jain *shreshthis* and the members of their family who got transcribed Jain scriptures during this period are - Sahu Badhu, Sahu Mahipala and Sahu Sagia. Since Muhammad Tughlaq had kept himself free from the clutches of the *ulemas*, his religious policy was comparatively tolerant. Therefore, *acharya* Bhattaraka Durlabhsena of the Kashtha *sangha* and Bhattaraka of the Nandi *sangha*, Ratnakirti and his disciple Prabhachandra, and Jinaprabha *suri*, the author of the 'Vividha Tirtha kalpa' could get honour and regard in Delhi. Jinadeva *suri*, Yati Mahendra *suri* etc. too received no less regard.

Feroz Tughlaq (1351-1388) proved a fanatic. Yet Digambar *Muni* Bhattaraka Prabhachandra, poet Ratnashekhar *Suri*, Rekha Pandit, specialist in *Ayurveda*, etc. received honour at his hands. Rekha Pandit got respect even from Malwa Sultan Ghiyasuddin and Afghan *Suri* rulers.

After the fall of the Tughlaqs, the Sayyid dynasty began to rule over Delhi. Their reign extended from 1414 to 1450. Once again, Agrawal *shreshthis* came into prominence in Delhi. Amongst them, Hemraj and Dieuchandra (Diwuta) and Thilha of Bayana (Shripatha Nagar) and some other *sahus* deserve mention. They had the discipleship of the Bhattarakas Yashakirti and Gunakirti of the Kashtha *sangha*. Under favourable conditions, they could construct a *chaitya* and did *sanghayatras* successfully. As per their wishes and those of their kith and kin, 'Pandava Purana', Harivansha Purana' were composed in Delhi. The great poet Raidhu too received honour in Delhi this time.

After the Sayyids, the Lodi dynasty came to power in Delhi. These Afghan rulers had very cordial relations with the Jains. Gada sav, the father of Taran Swami was offered a high post by Bahiol Lodi. At the time of Sikander Lodi, a Jain *shravaka* Chowdhari Devaraj was the chief trader of Delhi. The Sultan had honoured his *guru* Vishalkirti. Another Agrawal *shravaka* Sadharan was, really, extraordinary in intellect and wisdom. By the permission of the Sultan, he had performed many *tirtha-yatras* (journeys to holy places) in the capacity of a leader of the *sangha*. Chowdhari Todarmal of Jaiswal caste was a reputed businessman of Delhi. At the instance of Jain *shreshthis* a Jain poet named Pandit Manikyaraj wrote 'Amar Muni Charitra', and Yayakumar Charitra' during the Lodi period.

Gada sav was one of the officers of the Lodis. Originally, he was from Bundelkhand. He was a revolutionary Jain thinker, who opposed idol-worship and all other forms of worship in the fashion of Lonka Shah. For him, this was all a piece of sheer ostentation, and a mere false ostentation of religion. His teaching in this regard had a wide impact on people. As such a large number of people became his followers. A separate community of such people came into existence in the name of Sammaiya community. This came to be known as Taranpanth.

Leaving aside Muhammad Tughlaq as an exception, almost all Delhi-Sultans were staunch *sunnis*, and intolerant from religious point of view. They left no stone unturned in destroying the Hindu and the Jain temples and images. Even then, Indian society kept up its existence. Jain followers proved more zealous. And, even under adverse circumstances also, they continued to receive honour for their

acharyas from the ruling class. They continued to install small images in *chaityalayas* (home-temples), and get *firmans* from the rulers for pilgrimages of the *sanghapatis* and the pilgrims.

Thus, they proved that as and when the Indian society was suppressed and oppressed the cultural awakening became more energetic and vigorous.

Jain Heritage Centres

THE SULTANATE OF GUJARAT AND MALWA

Situated on the western coast of India, Gujarat has been an important centre of Jainism from the ancient times. In the first decades of the 13th century Gujarat had an opportunity to have within its fold Jain *shreshthis*, *builders*, patrons and leaders of the *sangha* like Vastupal and Tejpal. Many sects and *gachchas* continued to prosper in this belt which was rich because of its foreign trade. In spite of the rivalry, Jain religion continued to march on to the path of progress, to construct and reconstruct religious sites (*dharma sthalas*) temples, to build images, to create literature (of different sects), and to get interest in the transcription of a number of Jain scriptures.

Though Gujarat remained victimized at the hands of the Muslims, from the time of Mahmud Ghazni's invasion on Somnath, the Hindu dynasties continued to rule over here.

Alauddin Khilji annexed Gujarat in Delhi Sultanate in 1297. Ever since, Gujarat continued to be ruled by the Muslim *subhedaras* appointed from Delhi.

The last *subhedara* Jafar Khan was appointed in 1391. Practically, he was behaving like an independent ruler, but formally, he gave up his subordination (under Delhi-Sultanate) in 1401, and enthroned his son Tatar Khan in the name of Nasiruddin Muhammed Shah as an independent ruler of Gujarat. Contemporary facts seem to reveal that this new ruler was poisoned in 1407 by his own father. But as the cycle of time would have it, this old man, who had become Sultan Muhammed Shah, was in his own turn, poisoned by his grandson Alap Khan. And then, Alap Khan himself rose to the throne and assumed the name Ahmed Shah. Specially mentionable names amongst the Sultans of Gujarat are: Ahmed Shah, Mahmud Bengra, Bahadurshah etc. These rulers ruled Gujarat from 1411 to 1572. After that, Gujarat became a part of the Mughal empire.

Instead of providing patronage to Hindu and Jain religion, the Sultans of Gujarat discouraged the Hindus and the Jains, and attempted to demolish their religious places (*dharma sthalas*). Despite this Jainism prospered here to sufficiency and *Sangha-yatras* and construction and reconstruction of temples continued to be. The credit of this goes to those rich and influential *shreshthis* who had maintained close and cordial or friendly or welcoming rapport with the Sultans of Delhi and Gujarat. The credit also goes to those *acharyas* and *suris* (heads of groups of monks) who laboriously and enthusiastically remained involved in spreading and propagating *Jina* religion.

It seems necessary to name some mentionable *shreshthis* in this regard. Jinaprabha Suri's 'Vividha Tirtha Kalpa', Kakkasuri's 'Nabhinandanodhara Prabandha', 'Kharatara Gachcha Brihad Guruavali', Vidyatilaksuri's 'Kanyanvaya Mahavira Kalpa Parishesha', Pratishtasoma's 'Soma Soubhagya Kavya' etc. are the literary sources worth mentioning. Information supplied by them and that by image inscriptions is very important. One mentionable *Upakeshi* Jain *shreshthi* Desak Putra Samar Shah (Samarsingh) had very cordial relations with Ghiyasuddin Tughlaq, and Alap Khan, the Khilji *Subhedar* of Gujarat. On the basis of his calibre/caliber he was appointed an administrator of Telang region of South India by Kutubuddin Mubarak Shah.

He had repaired the Adinatha temple at Shatrunjaya and got *firmans* for the pilgrimages of the members of the Jain society. Another *shreshthi* Jasalshah

constructed Ajitnatha temple in the stambha-tirtha (Cambay or Khambhat) and a fasting hal or an alms house in 1310. The prominent names of the Jain *Sahus* of Gujarat of the 15th century are - Narsimha of Patan, Devarai of Barnagar, Bandhu brothers Vishal and Govind of Idar, Vatsraj of Karnawati, *Upakeshi* Oswal Sanghvi Mandalik, Porwasl Sanghvi Sahasa, and the *shravaka* Karamashah of *Tapagachcha* from Chitrakuta.

During this period, the Shvetambaras held sway in Gujarat. There are ample evidences of the existence of their *Kharatara*, *Tapa*, and Anchala gachchas. The *Lad-Vagada* and *Nandi sanghas* of the Digambara *amnay* too were sufficiently effective in Gujarat this time. Many branches of these *sanghas* were set up the centres of Surat, Sojitra, Braoch, Idar, etc. Engaged in the transcription work at Ahmedabad, Lonka Shah had propounded that there is no proof of idol worship in any ancient Jain literature. His followers came to be known as Lonkagachchiya. This *gachcha* was, later on, called *Sthanak-Marg* of the Shvetambara *amnay*.

It is worth outlining the part played by the Jain *acharyas* and literati of the *Kharatara gachcha*, viz, Jinachandra (the third), Jinakushal, Jinasagar, Jinaharsha and Jinachandra (the fourth) of the *Kharatara gachcha*, *Suri* Jaikalyan, Jaichandra, Ratnashekhar of the *Tapa gachcha*, *Kakka Suri* of the *Upakesha gachcha*, and Merutunga, Jaikirti and Jaikesari of the *Anchala gachcha*.

Somasunder of the *Tapa gachcha*, and his disciple Munisunder and Sumati *Sadhu* Propagated Shvetambara tenet to their best in the middle of the 15th century.

It was due to the unswerving efforts and zeal of the Jain *acharyas*, *suris*, authors and propagators/propagandists that the staunch Muslim rulers had to issue permits for carrying out *sangha-yatras* and pilgrimages. While by orders of the iconoclast Sultans, temples and idols were brought down to earth in Shatrunjay, Girnar, Stambha-tirtha, (Cambay or Khabhat) Arbuda etc., the Jain public was busy in the construction and reconstruction work right under their nose. Destroyer or disructor was tiring, but not the builder. There came a sort of flood of the small temples titivated with small beautiful images and copper-*yantras* during this period. Thickly Jain populated places like palitana, Girnar, Prahladpur, Tarangarh, Ahmedabad, Devakula patan etc. were throbbing with the new creation of Jain literature and ancient Jain *granthas* (scriptures).

The mediaeval period of Malwa began after the fall of the Parmaras. Though the mediaeval period of Malwa began in the beginning of the 14th century, it had to face Islamic attacks even earlier. In 724 A.D., the Arab invader Junaid had attacked Malwa, but, probably, he was defeated by the Gurjara-Pratihara pwer. In 1196, Kutubuddin Aibak carried his expeditions to the northern boundary of Malwa and took an about-turn to Delhi. Malwa had to face bad days in 1235 wherb Sultan Shamsuddin Iltutmish, the slave emperor of Delhi, looted Ujjain and other towns and cities of Malwa. In 1305 Ain-UI Mulk Multani, the general of Alauddin Khilji, defeated mahalk, Des, the last emperor of east malwa, and extirpated te Parmara power. Malwa remained a *Suba* upto 1401 under the Sultans of Delhi. When the position of Malwa was vacillating or swinging and dithering at the time of Timur's invasion, the Malwa *subhedar*, Dilwarkhan Ghori declared his independence. In 1405, Dilawar Khan's son Alpa Khan came in power in the name of Hoshangshah Ghori. He made Mandav his capital.

Hoshangshah died in 1435. His son Mohammed Khan Ghori was dethroned by his minister Mahmud Khilji who established an independent Khilji rule in Malwa. His death took place in 1469. After him, gradually came Ghiyasuddin, Nasiruddin, Mahmud II etc. These rules had to continuously fight with the rulers of Mewar and Sultans of Gujarat. Bahadurshah, the ruler of Gujarat defeated Mahmud II, the last Khilji ruler of Malwa, and took Malwa under him. In the mean time, the Mughal emperor Humayun invaded Bahadur Shah and made him flee from Malwa. Unfortunately, Humayun returned without uprooting Bahadurshah completely. Resultantly, Bahadur Shah again took possession of Malwa and appointed Mallukhan his *subhedar* over there. Invading Gujarat, Mallukhan established his independent rule in Malwa, but this was just a temporary phase. In 1542, Shershah Suri established his suzerainty in Malwa and appointed Shujawat Khan her *subhedar*. Thus, Malwa again became a part of Delhi empire. After the death of Shershah, Shujwat Khan declared himself an independent ruler of Malwa. Though Shujawat Khan had parcelled it into three parts in favour of his three sons, Malik Byajid snatched the kingdom from his brothers and began to rule entire Malwa in the name of Bajbahadur.

Afghan Sultan Bajbahadur could not remain the ruler of Malwa long. In 1561, Akbar sent his two generals-Adham Khan and Pir Mohammed to conquer Malwa. Very cruelly and inhumanly, these generals took Mandav in their hands, and once again annexed Malwa to Delhi.

Malwa remained under the Mughals in the time of Akbar, Jahangir, Shahjahan Aurangzeb etc. Adam Khan, Abdul Khan, Shiyauddin, Fakhruddin, Mirza Shahukh, Shihab Khan, Nakib Khan etc. were the *subhedars* of Ujjain during Akbar's reign. In Jahangir's time, the administration of Ujjain was in the hands of Motmid Khan. For sometime. Jafar Khan and Jaswantsingh remained governors of Malwa in Aurangzeb's time. After the death of Aurangzeb, the Maratha's invasions over Malwa began. And the Mughal governors failed to suppress these invasions. Gradually, the Mughals adopted the policy of reconciliation. Of course, Malwa came completely under the authority of the Marathas by 1741.

Jainism made a remarkable progress in Malwa during the period of the Sultans. In almost every field (be it of politics, administration or construction) Jain administrators and *shreshthis* had their voice. Even in social field, their voice was felt, and say was heard. In the cultural and the administrative field, the poet Mandan and Sangramsingh respectively were the two personages of the time. In the history of Malwa, they have been rightly reckoned as the very important persons.

It will not be out of place to count the names of some other mentionable persons like *Sanghapati* Holichandra and Jhanjhan, the Bikka-son, *Sanghapati* Dhanadraj, Dharna Shah, Punjraj, Nardeo Soni, Megh, Shivraj, Bakkal, Jawad Shah and Joodhir.

DIGAMBARA SECT

Digambara Jain sect prospered like anything in later mediaeval Malwa through the medium of the Bhattarakas. The Punnat *sangha*, the Mula *sangha*, remained very powerful in Malwa. The Mula *sangha*, the Kundakundanvay, the Saraswati *gachcha*, the Balatkar *gana* etc. became sufficiently popular and were considerably propagated. The Mathur *sangha* the Sena *gana*, the nandi *sangha* etc. also showed their existence or paraded their presence. We have ample information about them in the *pattavalis* and the image-inscriptions. Mediaeval Bhattaraka tradition came to be divided into many branches. And the description of the branches related to Malwa will be proper.

Padmanandi and his disciples Nemachand and Sakalkirtideo and Vimalendra are some of the famous names of the Bhattarakas of later branch. amongst the Bhattarakas of Idar branch, the names of Sakalkirti, Bhuwankirti, Jnanbhushan, Vijayakirti, Sumatikirti, Gunakirti, Vadibhushan, Ramkirti, padmanandi and Devendrakirti deserve mention. Similarly, the Bhattarakas of Bhanpur branch- Jnankirti, Jinachandra, Sakalchandra etc. are known to us from the image-inscriptions of Malwa. The Bhattaraka tradition of Rajputana started from padmanandi. The names of the Bhattarakas of this tradition are also found in the image-inscriptions of Malwa. Chief among them are- Shubhchandra, Jinachandra, Prabhachandra, Lalitkirti, Chandrakirti, Devendrakirti and Narendrakirti. One branch of the Bhattarakas of the Mula-*sangha* lived on even after. Image-inscriptions of Malwa region reveal these names of the Bhattarakas of this branch; Jinachandra, Simhakirti, Vidyanandi, Jnanbhushan, Jagatbhushan, Vishwabhushan and Devendrabhushan. Same type of mention has been made of these Bhattarakas of the Surat Branch: Devendrakirti, Vidyanandi and Lakshnichandra. Those of Jerhat branch are : Tribhuvankirti, Dharmakirti, Padmakirti, Jagatkirti and Sakalkirti. The Bhattarakas of the Kashtha *sangha* Nanditat *gachcha*, and the Bhattarakas - Tribhuvankirti and Ratnabhushan of the Vidya *gana* Ramsenanvay are also mentioned.

SHVETAMBARA TRADITION

The Shvetambara tradition divided into more than hundred *gachchas*. The main and the most famous *gachchas* of Malwa which found mention are : the *Tapa gachcha*, the *Kharatara-gachcha* and the like.

We find evidences of the existence of a number of *gachchas* of the Shvetambara sect of later mediaeval Malwa. The image-inscriptions of Ratnasingh *Suri*, Jnansagar and Udalsagar of the *Tapa* and the *Brihat Tapa gachcha* are found in Malwa. Similarly, image-inscriptions of the *Lagu Tapagachcha acharyas* like Vijay *Suri*, Somasunder *Suri*, Sunder *Suri*, Ratnashekhar *Suri*, Lakshmisagar *Suri*, Sumadeo *Suri*, Sumatisadhu *Suri*, Udayan *Suri*, Jaikalyan *Suri*, Hema-Vimala *Suri*, Charansunder *Suri* etc. have also been found.

The *Kharatara gachcha* of Malwa was just next to the *Tapa gachcha*. This was equally well propagated; its diffusion and extension was quite wide. The *acharyas* like Jinabhadra *Suri*, Jinachandra *Suri*, Jinasagar *Suri*, Jinaraj *Suri* and Jinakushal *Suri*, and Nayaysunder *Upadhyaya*, and *Muni* Merusunder of this *gachcha* belonged to Malwa.

As a matter of fact, Jain scenario this time was such that it could hardly be bound by regional territories. Jain activities happening in Malwa were different from those happening in the nearby Gujarat and Rajasthan. But to some extent, the *ganas* and the *gachchas* prevalent there were in a sense, the prototype of those of Malwa of the later mediaeval period.

In the present context, certain, pertinent questions strike to our mind. The most surprising thing is how could the intolérant *Sunni* Turk rulers with all their rigid religious constraints provide so many facilities to the Jains? How could they be liberal towards Jains whileas they could not be so to the newly converts of Islam, *Sufis* and to some extent to *Shiyas*? How it came that during the rule of barbarous, cruel, fanatic rulers, administrators, *amirs* and generals who believed in looting and wrecking the temples. a number of Jain temples, *Upasaras*, libraries and dharmasthalas could be saved? The reasons there of seem to be as follows:

1. The roots of the Sultans in India had gone deep in India, but as the time elapsed, the incoming of the Turk generals, the *amirs* of administrative capacity came to a halt. And this happened because of the changing military and political conditions in Central Asia and Afghanistan. Though the Afghans were entering Indi, they had formed a separate class of their own. And that class began to mix up with the local public for their existence, and for the fulfilment of their ambitions. The military and administrative necessity compelled the Sultans so first depend on the Hindus confessing Islam, and on the Rajputs and the Jains. A plenty of examples are there with respect to this. They had to make the Rajput feudals and generals the medium to control and suppress revolts in the far off regions. And when the loot-point began to touch its last marginal limit, the Sultans had no other alternative than to depend on the wealthy Jain community to meet their fiscal needs and casulties. This way the prevailing situation forced these bigots to surrender with no condition whatsoever.

2. By and by, those foreigners of Islam confession who entered India had to go through the process of Indianization. They felt it necessary to win confidence of the local population to maintain law and order. On account of the disintegrating political factors during mediaeval period, mutual conflict and selfish gealousies became very

commonly the order of the day. The economy of loot was crossing the marginal or rather its elasticity limit. Their war and luxurious tendencies caused terrible spendthrift and told heavily on the exchequer. And this made them dependent on the wealthy who were mostly Jains. Hence, they thenceforth began to attract the rich Jains of the nearby areas to their side by guaranteeing the security of their life and belongings. Thus many Jain families emerged as a well established class during the Muslim period. Now they got an apposite opportunity to display the skill and craft, ability and wisdom which they had acquired from centuries old traditions. And, because of this very reason, they were given high posts of administration and honour. Only the Almighty knows what they cherished and nourished within their bosom, but it is certainly true that had to allow or overlook the new constructions and old reconstructions of the Jains, and issue *firman*s for the *Sangha-Yatras*. Along with this, they had to give due regards to some influential Jain *sadhus*, *saints* and *acharyas*.

3. Certain Hindu damsels in the harem of the Sultans also exerted their influence on them. And they were, indeed, influenced by them. May be, their influence might not have been permanent, they yet inspired the rulers to behave well with the local people.

4. The contemporary Jain-world was also realizing the matter of factness or virtuality. In order to safeguard their trade and commerce, and the religious places (*dharma sthalas*) they came to the front to fulfil the needs of the rulers and their families. Luckily their vast pelf diffused as a means of exchange from their secret hoards or far off villages and towns to big cities. This economic empire of theirs was out of political perimeters. Therefore, the ruling class had to succumb to a few conditions of theirs, bear with their socio-economic Yardsticks and provide security and protection to them.

Due to the declining position of Delhi Sultanate, many regional states came into existence. This put an end to their military and fiscal demands. But, now, they could no more loot that public on whose help and cooperation depended their very existence. Therefore, where on the one hand the importance of the Rajput and the Vaishya caste increased, the reputation and esteem of the Jain community on the other had also increased more in comparison to what it was in the early times.

This state of affairs continued during the Mughal period also. Just after their entry into India, the Muslim rulers had realized the necessity of taking the Rajputs and the Jains into confidence. probably having this in mind, Akbar adopted liberal and tolerant policy in his later career. Else, he is also reported to have been a religious bigot during the early period of his rule. The same policy of forbearance and munificence was followed by his respective successors - Jahangir and Shahjahan. Aurangzeb, however, abandoned this policy, and for which the Mughal empire had to pay. On paper of course, the later Mughal rule continued for long, but factually it could not bear with the foreign invasions and disintegrating forces. Such being the case, it was destined to meet its fall very fast.

Looking to the amicable relations of the Muslim rulers with the Jains, and the fact that many of the Jain constructions remained defended, certain, scholars have expressed that there was some sort of pact between the Sufis and the Jains, and that the Jains in their turn were as a matter of fact, taking anti-national steps by financially helping the Muslim rulers to carry out their expeditions against the Indian rulers.

But both of these doubts are baseless. collection or raising money for the Muslim rulers by the Jain *shreshthis* was a mere outwards pretence. That time it was the same type of compulsion on the part of the Jains as it was on the part of the Muslims in respect to their goodwill towards the Jains. Being a non-violent community the Jains have ever gone on looking to the ruling class, for the smooth sail of and non-interference in their trade and commerce and in safeguarding their religious place or places of pilgrimage and making journeys to them ferlessly. Moreso, the Jains had no other go than this, especially when the Hindu power was extirpated from many regions. Here this has not to be forgotten that in Malwa and other regions, it were these Jains obly who by spreading out their financila and intellectual net could, to a greater extent, build up the atmosphere of tolerance during the reign of intolerant Muslim rulers, and thus keep intact Indian values and voices. This too needs be delineated that the Jain *shreshthis* cooperated with the Hindu dynasties open heartedly and quite liberally. Bhamashah who gave his all for the sake of freedom was after all a Jain.

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JAINISM DURING THE MUGHAL PERIOD

Delhi Sultanate was completely wiped out along with the defeat of Ibrahim Lodi in the first Battle of Panipat in 1526. And then came to power the Mughal dynasty. In the interregnum of 15 years during the Mughal period there was a rule of Afghan Suri dynasty. Babar (1526-30), Humayun (1530-40), Shershah Suri (1540-55), again Humayun for some time, Akbar (1556-1605), Jahangir (1605-27), Shahjahan (1627-58), Aurangzeb (1658-1707) became kings respectively. Amongst the later Mughals, only the reign of Muhammed Shah was of some importance from Jain viewpoint.

In the early Mughal period, the Jain *dharmacharyas* related to Jain *amnays* and *shreshthis* got importance worthy of name. They got freedom of pilgrimage, state-restriction on animals sacrifice (more or less), concession for construction and reconstruction of temples etc. But the all comprehensive and all pervading glow and shine of Jainism grew sufficiently dim. And the contemporary condition was such that the Jain *Sadhus* and *Sahus* did, no doubt, get royal respect but many Jain authors had felt the compulsion of eulogizing the ruling monarchs in their works, *granthas*. And, this was not the fruit of friendliness of harmony, but a kind of agreement which Aurangzeb broke in no time.

Even then, some bright facts need mention-surprisingly enough the references in the Jain literature are corroborated by the abundant image-inscriptions found in Gujarat, Malwa, Rajasthan and North India. This provides credibility to the history of Jainism.

In the time of the first Mughal ruler, Bhattaraka Yashkirti Sahu Hemraj installed many Jain images in the temples. 'Pandav Purana' and 'Harivansh Purana' were also completed this time by the instance Bhattaraka. One Jain poet Mahachandra was honoured by Babar. In his time, permission for building a temple was given to the Digambara *Sadhu* Sadhprasad and *seth* Neminath. This type of act went on in the time of Humayun also. Babar and Humayun both had esteem for a Jain *Sadhu*, Anandmeru. Shrichandra Manikchandra, Devacharya, Shreyakirti etc. were the famous Jains of the capital of the time of Shershah Suri.

Humayun's successor, Jalaluddin Akbar proved a great, national and tolerant ruler. During his reign, liberal policy was adopted for the Hindu as well as the Jain religion. This time, Delhi was a centre of the Digambara *Kashtha Sangha*. Many Shvetambara *Yatis* also exerted their influence. The first Jain *dharmacharya* to be revered by Akbar was *Muni* Padmasunder the author of the famous 'Akbar Shringar Darpankar'. On being invited by Akbar, most renowned Bhattarak Harivijay *Suri* of *Tapagachcha* of Gujarat came to Agra. The two had an extensive discussion with each other. Akbar adorned Harivijay *Suri* with the epithet— "Jagadguru". But, there is no valid proof to the effect that Akbar adopted Jainism being influenced by the preachings and precepts of Harivijay *Suri*. Akbar had invited a Jain orator, Vijaysen Gani to Lahore. Akbar had also invited there to Jinachandra *Suri*, the author of 'Akbar pratiobodh Ras'. He bestowed on him the title—"Yug Pradhan". At the instance of Akbar and *shreshthi* Karmachandra Bachchawat, Jinachandra handed over his *patta* (seat) to his disciple Mansingh. Rajmalla (of the *Kashtha sangha*) and Jinadas pande, and Vidya Harsh *Suri*, Pandit Banarsidas etc. have extolled Akbar in their works. Akbar was deeply influenced by the Jain *Yati* Bhanuchandra's Persian knowledge also.

Karmachandra Bachchawat, an ex-minister of Bikaner and an able disciple of Jinachandra *Suri*, was very close to Akbar. On his request, 1050 Jina-images, which

were taken from sirohi to Delhi royal store, were sent to Bikaner. Raja Bharmalla of the Shrimal caste and the son of the Mughal governor Ranakrai, was a most able of the time. Akbar had appointed him the governor of Sambhar region, and invested him with ample powers. His headquarters were at Nagaur. He used to send enough money to the centre every year. *Sadhu* Todarmal was a mentionable Jain gentleman of Agra. Taking Akbar into confidence, he not only built new temples in Agra and Muttra (Mathura), but renovated a number of old temples. Being impressed with the ability of his Jain minister Khimji, Akbar gave him the charge of Ranthambhor fort. One Agrawal Sahu, Ranvira was a treasurer and a mint officer in the time of Akbar. Saharanpur was founded by him.

Jahangir's attitude towards Jainism was the same as Akbar's. Jinchandra's *patta* successor was Jinasimha *Suri* who influenced Jahangir so much that he (Jahangir) gave him the title of "Yug Pradhan". Jahangir used to honour Vijaysen *Suri* of the *Tapagachcha* the way he used to honour Hiravijay. He gave him the epithet-"Mahatapa".

During Jahangir's reign, Pandit Banarsidas and an Oswal *Seth*, Hiranand Mukim were held in high esteem. *Seth* Hiranand was Jahangir's *Johari* assayer (or tester). He also had an opportunity to be Jahangir's guest, and receive his hospitality. Unfortunately, a minor incident brought in difference between the two, and, as a consequence, *seth* Mukim had to pay penalty. The name of Shrimal gotriya Pt. Banarsidar remained one of high repute and regards from the time of Akbar to that of Shahjahan. In the court too, he was held in high esteem. His grandfather and father had been the high officers in the service of the Mughals. His early life was spent in Jaunpur, his youth and Youth plus time in Agra, and old age was spent in Prayag (Allahabad). He was a great poet, an exceptional scholar, an experienced metaphysician and a spiritualist. His residence "*Shaili*" was a place where coterie of scholars used to be. Those who participated in them were, indeed, persons of high repute and rare scholarship. Jahangir's successor, Shahjahan used to play chess with him and while playing he used to discuss certain important matters with him. Coterie used to be organized in his time also. Tihuna Sahu built a temple in Agra in 1635, and in 1638 *seth* Shantidas built a Jain temple of Shantinath (Chintamani temple) in Ahmedabad. Sanghvi Rishabhdas, *Sanghpati* Ratnasi, Sabalsingh Mothia, Hemraj Patni etc. were some other shining gems of the time of Jahangir. Similarly, the prominent Jain *Shreshthis* of the time of Shahjahan were - Sanghvi Sangramsingh, Johari Shantidar, *Sanghpati* Bhagvandas.

Aurangzeb was a staunch *Sunni*. He was able, no doubt, but was intolerant. Progress of Jainism was considerably baulked in his time. Even then Jainism continued to prosper in the Rajput states.

During Aurangzeb's reign, two world-famed creditors (Sahukars) were there. One was Viraji Vohra of Surat. he was already well established as a rich businessman in the time of Shahjahan. In Aurangzeb's time, he had a firm grip over foreign and west Indian coastal trade. He was follower of *Lonkagachcha*. Lavji Swai (Lavana Rishi), the founder of *Sthanakmargi Dhundhia* tradition belonged to Vohra's familial tradition.

Second one was the Oswal *Seth* Hiranand Shah of Agra. In Aurangzeb's time, he had settled in Patna. This time Bihar, once again, was blooming as a Jain centre. The two Oswal brothers-Kunwarpal and Sonpal. originally from Agra, but then living in Patna, were constructing a Jain temple that time. Later on *seth* Hiranand went to live in

Murshidabad, the capital of Bengal. His son Mabikchandra progressed remarkably and received the title of "Raja". Later Mughal emperor Muhammed Shah gave his son Fatehchand the title of "Jagat seth". Gradually his trust became the richest commercial establishment. Afterwards, the Britishers, showing fear of Sirajudaula to *Jagat Seth* Shuganchand, not only indulged in heinous loot but also ended the glorious tradition of *Jagat seth*. The last *seth* had the credit of building water-temple (Jala-Mandir) at Sammet Shikhar.

Askaran, the Sanghpati of Dhamoni (Damoh-Bundelkhan), Vardhman Navalakha, the inspirer of the coterie of Jain scholars, Tarachand, the *diwan* of Fatehpur were some of the best Jain *shreshthis* of the time of Aurangzeb. *Seth* Ghasiram of Delhi, Lala Kesarisingh, *Jagat seth* Fatehchand were the prominent figures during the reign of the later Mughals Farrukhsiyar and Muhammed Shah.

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THE RAJPUT STATES OF NORTH INDIA

Many Rajput states were set up in north and west India during the Sultanate and the Mughal period. The decline of the Tomars and the Chahmanas from Delhi offered these states a chance to take advantage of the contemporary disordered political situation and take possession of many places in South and South-east. This is the reason why we find the Chahmanas ruling in the nearby regions of Agra, namely Chandrawad, Karhal and Ganeshkuri, and Tomars in Aisah and Gwalior.

The Chahman's reign in Chandrawad remained in existence in the 13th and the 14th century. Its founder, Chandrapaldas took possession of the territory (lying between the Chambal and the Yamuna) governed by the Bhar rulers after being defeated by the Sultans. They made Raibaddiya their capital. This capital, later on was shifted to Chandrawad. After Chandrapal were enthroned Bharatpal, Abhaypal-I, Jahad, Ballal, Ahavamalla, Sambhari rai, Sarangdev, Abhaypal-II, Jaichand, Ramchandra and Rudrapratap as rulers of Chandrawad, one after the other. Most of these rulers were of Jain confession. The posts of minister, general and city-seth (*Nagar-Seth*) were reserved for Jain families. Amongst the ministers of Chandrawad, the names of Ramsingh of Harul family, Amritpal, Sodu, Krishnaditya, and Jasdhar of Jaiswal family of Yadu descent (lineage), Gokarna, Somadeva Vasadhan etc. deserve mention. The last one was most learned, religious, and a builder of Jain temples. A brave general Krishnaditya and a *Shreshthi* Nemidas too were not far behind in the installation of Jina images and construction of temples. Lokshman, Shivdev etc. were the famous Jain poets of this time. Famous poet Dhanpal, and a great poet Raidhu came over Chandrawad as travellers. Here also they wielded their pen. Anantkirti, Bhattaraka of the *Kashtha sangha* spent enough time here.

The Chahmana state of Karhal was also given to the following of Jainism. This state in the 15th century was respectively governed by Bhojraj, Sansarchandra (Prithviraj) etc. The administrative responsibility, here, was in the hands of a Jain Amarsingh of Yadu lineage and those of the members of the family and his kith and kin. Lona Sahu was a very prominent figure. A patronized poet of this state was Jaymitra Holla who composed 'Mallinatha Charita'. Another Poet Aswal wrote 'Parshvanath Charita'.

THE TOMARS OF GWALIOR

After the fall of Kachchaghats, there came in power the Tomars in power the Tomars in Gwalior (ancient Gopalchal or Gopadri) region. In the second Battle of Tarain, one branch of the Tanwars escaped from Delhi and settled in this region. The rule of the Tanwars proved to be one of climax in regard to the rise and progress of Jain sects and Jain constructions. Hence, it will be justified to discuss about the Tomar dynasty here.

Being defeated by Shahabuddin Ghori, the Tomars of Delhi escaped elsewhere. One branch came to the region called Samprati Tanwardhar under the supervision of an able and a glorious leader Achal Brahma. He succeeded in establishing here a small state the headquarters of which was Aisah (probably, the original name was Aisahmani or Ishmani). Some of its scions went elsewhere as *ayudhjivis* those earning velihood by spending on arms). Lateron, under the leadership of Medinirai and silhadi etc., they filled in an important role in Malwa region as Purbiya Rajputs.

A daughter of Achal Brahma was married to the Parihar ruler Malayvarman of Gopadri. The marriage contributed immensely to the political rise of the Tomars. The 7th generation of this descent was the rise of Kamalsingh (Ghatamdeo or Kunwarpal). Ibnbatua mentions him as 'Katam'. He was brave and ambitious. He wanted to make his dreams come true by killing Badra, a religious and a terrorist, a savage of the nearby region Alapur. Not only this, he had a design for his son and son-in-law also. He invaded the Afghan governor of Rapari but to no avail. In an attempt to capture Gopadri fort, he was killed some time near 1340. Consequently, the Tomars weakened. His successor Dev Verma (Dev Brahma) had to recruit himself in the army of Feroz Tughlaq just to keep up his existence. The death of Feroz Tughlaq in 1388 hastened the fall of the Mughal empire. Dev Verma's son Virasinghdeo tried to take advantage of the situation. On the basis of literary and epigraphical sources, it may be assumed that he ruled between 1375 and 1400. Tughlaq general, IslamKhan went a long way in blunting Virasinghdeo's ambition for independence. Finally, qua Tughlaq governor, he captured Gopadri about 1394. Timur's invasion caused disorderliness and unrest. Taking advantage of the shaking situation, Virasinghdeo Tomar declared himself an independent ruler of Gopadri.

Virasinghdeo was a lover of literature, and a thoroughly cultured man. "Virasimhavalok" concerns him. Jaisingh Suri, the founder of Shrikrishna *gachcha*, and his disciple and author of the *granthas* like 'Hammira Mahakavya', Naichandra *Suri* added feathers to Virasinghdeo's crown. Being terrorized by Timur's invasions, many a Jain *shreshthi* and *dharmacharya* of north India settled in Gopadri. Therefore, the Prospering Kashtha *Sangha* and Mathuranvay connected with Mathura came to limelight in this area.

The reign of Virasinghdeo's successor, Udharandeo proved short-lived. After him dawned the age of Viramdeo Tomar (1402-23). It was one of bravery and cultural awakening of consciousness.

Viramdeo was a patron of literature, art and religion. Jainism got enough chances for prospering, His minister Kushrai was Jain. At his instance, Padmnath Kayastha wrote. Yashodhara Charit', the epic. A big grand and artistic temple of Chandraprabhu was caused to be built by him. This was, later on converted into Muhammed Gausa's mausoleum. According to the *patta*-tradition of the Bhattarakas

of *Kashtha sangha* of Gwalior, as, given by Raidhu in his 'Sammai Charit', the time of Bhattaraka Gunakirti was this only.

Naichandra *suri* the author of 'Hammir Mahakavya' and 'Rambha Mamanjari' added to the glory of Gwalior even during the reign of Viramdeo. Certain Jain inscriptions of Gwalior fort mention Virang (Viram) deo with honour.

After Viramdeo, Ganapatideo became the ruler of Gopadri. He reigned from 1423 to 1425. His successor was Dungrendra singh (Dungarsingh or Dungrendradeo). He was brave and skilled in warfare. His successor Kirtisingh (1459-80) has been called "Hindu Surtran" in a Jain inscription. He was indeed, a brave son of a brave father.

The reign of both-Dungrendrasingh and Kirtisingh was phenomenal with regard to Jain religion, art, architecture and literature. The wonderful Jain images of Gwalior fort belong to their reign. These images of the rock cut temples are the none-such treasure of Indian art-world. We have more than 1500 images which can be grouped into 5 per their direction. They all present an example par excellence. They bespeak the then *state of the art* technology. Most of the images are in standing or in seated cross-legged posture (*Khadgasan* or *Padmasan*). The Jain images of Gwalior fort have no second in vastness. many of the images bear inscriptions praising the glory of Dungrendra and Kirtisingh. They also mention the Bhattarakas of gopalchal patta (seat), Viz, Ganakirit, Yashakirti, Malayakirti, Gunabhadra etc. The great poet Raidhu was the glory of Gopachal this time. Raidhu, the author of about 30 books (in Prakrit) has been mentioned in some of the inscriptions as the one concerned with installation ceremony (*Pratishthacharya*). There is a long array of the Jain personages of this time. Some of them are : Vivudh, Shridhar (and other poets), and *Sahu* Kamalsingh, Mantrishwar Kushraj, Brahma Khelha, Brahmachari, Aspati, Ranmal, Kheu, Harsi, Bhullan, Tosath, Hemraj, *sanghapati* Kalpa Shrichand, Harichand, *Sahu* Lapu, Khemsingh, Nemdas, Holu, Padmasingh, Sahadeo, Kumudchandra, and many other *sanghapatis*, *shreshthis* and governors or administrators.

From among the later Tomar rulers after Kirtisingh came Kolyanmalla (1488-1516), Vikramaditya (1516-23), Ramsingh, Shaliwain successively to the throne of Gopadri.

Successors of Mansingh were weaklings. In spite of the best effort of Vikramaditya, the successor of Mansingh, Gopadri went into the hands of Ibrahim Lodi. Tomar Kingdom became part and parcel of Delhi empire, and losing its total existence upto 16th century, it became a subject of history.

Certain images of the time of Mansingh have been found from Gopachal. This shows that Jainism till then was somehow or the other, prospering, *Shreshthi* Khemshah of his time began to inspire the literators.

The establishment of the Muslim and the Mughal sovereignty/suzerainty over Gwalior gave a set-back to Jain religion and the building activities pertaining to it. And when it emerged as the capital of the Scindias in 1810, new people began new activities new way. though of course, Jainism continued to be over there, but its ancient glory passed away from Gopadri for good.

THE RAJPUT STATES OF RAJASTHAN

Right from the ancient times, Rajasthan has been a seat and centre of Jainism. and there are evidences to prove this. In the early mediaeval Rajasthan and west India, the zealot Jain *sadhus*, *acharyas* and Bhattarakas popularized Jainism by their unflinching and unswerving efforts. Resultantly, many Hindu families adopted Jainism. interest in Jainism of even royal houses was up. The Pratiharas and the Chahmanas not only patronized Jainism but contributed a great deal to its expansion. Thus, from the 7th to the 12th century, the graph of Jainism tended to escalation. Voluminous Jain literature, numerous inscriptions and images attest to this fact.

Islamic invasions gave a fatal blow both to the Hindu and the Jain religion and their religious buildings in Rajasthan. The Arab invader Junaid carried a ghastly and gory expedition in Rajasthan in the 8th century. The invasions of the Turk Mahmud Ghazni looted and damaged all those villages, towns and cities which came his way. He did his all to give a blow to the social and religious faith of the people of Kiradu, Nadol, Osia etc. Jain businessmen of Rajasthan had to continuously face Muslim invasions during the Sultanate period. The attacks made by Kutubuddin Aibak and Iltutmish during the Slave Period on Ajaymeru (Ajmer), Arbud (Aju), Naghrida (Nagda), Shrimal (Bhinmal) Ranastambhapur (Ranthambhor) Mandor, Jalor etc., and those of Alauddin Khilji on Haroti, Marwar and Mewar regions in the early decades of the 14th century severally and seriously hurt the non-violent spirit of Jainism. One Jain structure was converted into Islam and given the name-'Adhai-din-ka Jhonpra'. The Jain temples of Sanchor, Jalor, Jiravalli etc. were completely smashed-up and from their remains were built mosques. This process continued even during the Tughlaq period. One Tughlaq governor of Bayana did many unworthy deeds. Taking advantage of an-*ex-parte* and simplistic references, some Muslim historians have tried to prove that this was an age of cultural cordiality and social coordination between the Jains and the *Sufis*, but in so doing they are, really overlooking the intolerant policy of the staunch ulemas and their misdeeds and blackdeeds, and putting a sign of interrogation before the impartiality of history. The liberal quality of the *Sufis* will have to be connected with the rigidity and staunchness of the *Sunnis*. only then, an impartial presentation of Jains-Islamic relations would be possible.

The beginning Years of the reign of Akbar prove religious bigotry. It was Akbar who demolished Jain temples of Sirohi in 1576 and took more than 1000 images to Delhi. Almost the same story holds good in case of Akbar's military expeditions in Rajasthani regions. While deciding and determining the back-ground of Akbar's greatness and his tolerance stock of his immoral and unethical activities will have to be taken so that the credit may be given to the Jain followers who patiently bore what went on and who finally gave an impetus to Akbar for changing his policy. And the works done just after are a subject of history. The destruction at Ranakpur Kesariyaji, Dhulev etc. could be made good of owing to the creative tendency of the Jains. Behind the background of the existence of Jain religion during the Muslim and the Mughal period, we see the mixture of the material prosperity and the inner energy of the *dharmacharyas* of the Jains and the facilities given to them by the rulers because of their vested interests.

BRIEF POLITICAL HISTORY OF RAJASTHAN

At the time of the establishment of Muslim rule in Delhi, Rajasthan was divided into many small and big principalities where different Rajput dynasties ruled.

MEWAR : The dawn of the 13th century in Mewar introduces us to Kshemsingh. He was of Rana lineage and his capital was Nagda (Naghrida). His son Jaitrasingh made Chittor (chitrakuta) his capital where he ruled from 1213 to 1261. Jainism prospered like anything in the time of Jaitrasingh, his son Tejsingh and grandson Samarsingh. Tejasingh's queen-in-chief Jayatalladevi played an important part. Being charmed by the beauty of the queen padmini, Alauddin Khilji attacked Chittor following imperialistic policy. Rana Ratansingh was killed by the stroke of deceit. Threat padmini and many others performed *Johar* (Mass immolation on fire). For some time after this, the sun of Mewar remained almost set. In 1326, under the leadership of Hammir, the Sisodia dynasty was established. He returned the past glory to Chittor by his influence and bravery. This practice was continued by his successors Khetsingh (1364-82), Rana Lakha (1382-1421) and Rana Mokal (1421-33). Successfully facing the Sultans of Gujarat and Malwa, Mokal's son Maharana Kumbha (1433-68) once again let the sun of Mewar shine in the whole of north India. He had two weak and unpopular successors Uda and Raimal. After Taimal, Maharana Sangrarsingh (Rana Sanga) took reigns of Mewar in his hands. He was brave like Rana Kumbha, but unfortunately he was defeated at the hands of Babar in the Battle of Khanwa. He left behind him the weak successors like Ratansingh, Vikramaditya and Banwir. No wonder, therefore. It Chittor under these circumstances had to have bitter and unpalatable potation in the form of attacks by Sultan Bahadurshah of Gujarat, Suri ruler Shershah and Mughal Padshah Akbar.

After the death of Rana Udaisingh in 1572, Rana Pratapsingh became the ruler of Mewar. Rana Pratap made himself immortal in Indian history by losing his all at the hands of Akbar in a bid to save the name, fame and glory of Mewar (even at the cost of his life).

Udaipur was made the capital of Mewar by his son Amarsingh (1597-1620). The cordial relations maintained by this Rana with the Mughals continued in the time of his successors karansingh, Jagatsingh & C. till Marathas Under Peshwas played their decisive part in this region.

Certain Princes related to Mewar dynasty also tested their fate in the nearby areas/belts. Samantsingh paved the way for Mewar in Vagad by extirpating the Bhils and the Chahmana feudals from there. During the reign of Maharana Jagatsingh, Rao Virasingh (1280-1303) founded a separate state where his successor Dungarsingh established the town Dungarpur and made it his capital. In the time of his successors Rawal Gopinath (1424-48), Udalsingh (1497-1527) and others, this continued to progress. Later on this state supported the policy of Mewar in dealings with Mughals and Marathas.

Same was the story of Banswara. Udaisingh, the *Rawal* of Dungarpur had divided his state between his two sons, and owing to which came into existence what is called Banswara. Though it had constant confrontation with Gujarat, Dungarpur, Mughals, Mewar and Marathas, the rulers remained patrons of art and culture.

One ambitious Prince Surajmal laid the foundation of Dewaliya Pratapgarh in the early decades of the 16th century. His successors-Baghsingh, Sangrarsingh,

Salamsingh etc. very patiently and cleverly succeeded in keeping intact its existence and glory.

Jainism got ample opportunities to grow and prosper in these Mewar states.

It was a wonderful coincidence that while on the one hand, there was almost everywhere bloodshed on the land of Mewar due to Muslim and Mughal attacks, the Jain community on the other hand was touching the height in the field of trade and commerce, administration, art and architecture, and literature. The Jains were holding high posts in the Muslim court. Most of the Jain *acharyas* etc. were held in great price. Barring certain exceptions, the rulers of Mewar were giving patronage to Jain religion quite enthusiastically. Such condition was at its peak during the time of Rana Kumbha (Kumbhakarn). While Rana was carrying his victory flag in all directions, the Jains were carrying out their beautiful building activities with their Digambara and Shevatambara consciousness and traditions. A mention of some bright points will not be otherwise here.

The Mewar of the time of the Rajputs has kept intact the sweet and pious memory of many Jain *acharyas*, *Bhattarakas*, *sadhus* and *shreshthis* through the medium of sacred books, inscriptions, religious architecture and images. Be it Bhadrashwar, Devbhadra, Siddhasen, Jineshwar, Vijaysing, Bhuwansingh, Ratnaprabha of the *Chaitra gachcha*, Sarvonand *Suri* of the *patta* of Ratnaprabha, *Suri* Somasunder, *Muni* Sunder, Somadev, Jaishekhar, Jinaharsha Gani, Ratnashekhar, Manikyaratna *Gani* of the *Tapa gachcha*, or *acharya* Jinaraj Jinavardhan, Jinchandra, Jinsagar and Jinsundar of the *Kharatara gachcha* all of these Shevetambara *dharmacharyas* had immaculate love and tender feelings for Mewar. It was Mewar that got the *prashasti* (eulogy) of the great *Suri* Harivijayaji; It was Mewar that received great tradition of the Digambara Bhattarakas Keshavchandra, Devchandra, Abhaykirti, Basantkirti, Vishalkirti and Shubhakirti in the person of Dharmachandra in the 13th century; again it was Mewar where the Bhattarakas Sakalkirti, Bhuwankirti, Brahmginraj etc. were honoured on this side idolatry. Mewar also witnessed with its eyes the religious activities of the *acharyas* like Dharmakirti of the *Kashtha sangha* and those of Abhinav Prabhachandra of the *Patta* of the *acharya* Jinachandra of the *Nandi sangha Saraswati gachcha Balatkar gana*. In this century, the queen Jaytalladevi built a temple of black Parshvanatha in Chittor being influenced by the preachings of Devendra *Suri* and Pradyuman *Suri*. She had also inspired her husband to sanction grants for religious deeds. How can Mewar forget Sanak's son Sah Jija of the Bangherwal caste and his relatives like Dinak, Nathu, Jiju and Purnsingh who constructed the famous glory pillar (*Kirti stambha*) at Chittor? This can also not forget Dhannalal and his son Ratanshah of the Pragvat caste of the 15th century who, inspite of their busy career of 65 years (1433-98), had built a very costly vast Jain temple at Ranakpur which is famous for its marble pillars. It was out of their deep rooted religiosity.

During Raimalla's reign in the 15th century, one Samant Rao Shivsingh of Modasa became an unforgettable figure. It was in his time that at the instance of the *acharya* Jinachandra *suri* of the *Kharatara gachcha*, one great *shreshthi* Jivaraj Papiwal built innumerable Jina-images and installed them in the Jain temples of almost entire India by carrying journeys to a number of religious sites (*dharmasthalas*). Many of these images are dated in Samvat 1548, i.e. 1480-91 A.D. Many scholars feel proud in adopting Jivaraj Papiwal's name in the form of image-building tradition.

The names of the *shreshthis* who did a lot for religious activities, art architecture and literature are mainly those of the Pragvat *Sah Nana Sanghapati* Dhanpal, Oswal Gunraj, Soma's son Harpal, *Sah Hardan*, *Sah Jagasi*, *Bhandari Vela*, *Seth Dharna* Ramdev Nolakha, Hasa, Lakshmansingh, *Shravaka* Ratansingh, *Bhandari Tolashah*, *Diwan* Bachcharaj, *Mantri* Karmashah, *Shah* Asha, *Durgpala* (fort protector) Bharmal Kawadia, Bhamashah, the great renunciative. Even today, the damaged or fully intact religious structures, and written or transcribed scriptures at Nagada, Chittor, Udaipur, Kwshriyaji etc. Speak eloquently about the religious activities that went on during this period.

In Vagda region, the *Tapa* and the *Kharata gachchas* were effectively popular. The Kashtha, the Nanditat and the Lad Vagada *sanghas* of the Digambara *amnay* (tradition) have asserted their existence here Besides the headquarters of Dungarpur, Banswara, and pratapgarh Upar, Galiyakot, Antaru Nowgana, Deoli, Jhasandi etc. also remained the centres of Jain religion and constructions of this confession. This region did not lag behind even in the transcription of Jain *granthas* (religious books). The ministers (*amtyas*) like sabha, Salha, Humbar, Doshi Pampa and their families also contributed immensely to Jainism. In the journey of progress of Jainism, they indeed, did a lot.

Jain Heritage Centre

THE CHAHMANA RULE

After the Pratiharas, the Chahmana rulers gave enough patronage and fillip to Jain religion. The credit for this goes, in the main, to Nadol, shakambhari and Ajmer branches of the early Chahmanas.

After the defeat of Prithviraj Chahmana-III in the Battle of Tarain in 1192, the power of the early Chahmanas dwindled, rather almost ended. one son of his, Govindraj had founded Ranthambhor. Its most powerful ruler Hamirdeo (1283-1310) had to bid farewell to this world in his fight against Alauddin Khilji. Along with this was fared the chahmana rule well.

In 1205, Udaisingh of Jalor branch of the Chahmanas took Nadol, Bhinmal, Barmer, Ratanpur, Sanchora, Kiradu etc. under his control while carrying his imperialistic and extensional expeditions. After him Chachigdeo and Samantsingh became the rulers in succession, Kanhardeo was a brave and a warrior ruler of this branch. But fighting with the army of Alauddin, he lost his life. Thus, the rule of the Chahmanas of Jalor branch also ended in 1310.

One more mentionable Chahmana branch of later mediaeval Rajasthan was that of Sirohi. This branch was founded by Dewada Sahasral in 1425. One of its rulers Jagmal established cordial relations with Mewar and defeated Bahlol Lodi. His son Akheraj (1523-33) had sided with Ranasanga in the battle against Babar at Khanwa. Unfortunately the later rulers of Sirohi proved feeble, and eventually they had to come on friendly terms with Akbar.

Hada branch of the Chahmanas established its rule in Bundi in 1241. Its first ruler was Deosingh. His respective successors were Rao Samarsingh, Napuji, Virasingh, Narayan, Surajmal, Surjan etc. Surjan had to surrender Ranthambhor to the Mughals in 1561 and accept mansabdari. After that, Bundi rule weakened. One of the reasons was that Shahjahan, by separating Kota from Bundi, had made Rao Ratan's son Madhosingh the ruler of that, and given *mansabdari* also. These states of Haroti remained in existence till India's independence.

In spite of the adverse circumstances, Jainism was given adequate patronage in these later Chahmana States. During this period, many Jain temples were erected and images installed therein at Sirohi, Abu, Juna, Barmer, Pindwara, Jirawali, Virawara, Pesua, Makrora etc. At many places, *sadhus* and *Suris* advantaged the laity by their teachings and preachings. Amongst them the names of Udaiprabh *Suri* and Vijaysen *Suri* of the Shvetambara sect, Hiravijay *Suri* of the *Tapa gachcha*, and Hiranand *Suri* of the *Pippal gachcha* are specially mentionable. Similarly, in Haroti region also Jainism made its headway to the level of sufficiency. One Jain businessman of Sagodi named Krishnadas had organised a grand installation ceremony at Chandkheri (Khanpura) in 1689 facing all the ebullience of Aurangzeb wrath and anger.

The Jain *sadhus* and authors contributed to Jainism in these Chahmana states beyond hope by writing books (granthas).

RATHOD STATES

Jodhpur and Bikaner were main centres in the Rathod states of Rajasthan. In the 13th century, one Gahadval prince of Kanauj of Pali region established Rathod rule in Mondor. His able successors extended its bounds by their valour and bravery. All through the 13th century, they had to keep stand with the surrounding powers. So doing, some had to sacrifice their lives even in the battlefield. The next prominent ruler of the Rathods was Jodha (1438-39). He founded Jodhpur in 1459. His successors proved rulers just in name, but in the time of Maldeo, Jodhpur regained its vigour. Maldeo was the best amongst all Rathod rulers of Jodhpur. But his worthless successors accepted the suzerainty of the Mughals. An important reason for this was their mutual rivalry also they not only remained Mughal *mansabdaras*, but also established matrimonial relations with the Mughals. During Aurangzeb's regime, the Mughal-Rathod relations spoiled; the Rathods challenged the Mughal power under the able leadership and supervision of *Vira* (brave) Durgadas in the 18th century. The Rathods had to constantly encounter the Marathas.

Another chief centre of the Rathods was Bikaner founded by Bika (1485-1504). Bika Rao was the fifth son of Jodha. He had founded Bikaner in 1488 and made it his capital. Bika's successors from the 16th to the 18th century were successively Rao Nar, Rao Lunakaran, Jaitsingh, Kalyanmal, Maharaja Raisingh, Dalapatsingh, Sursingh, Karansingh, Anupsingh etc. Like the Rathod rulers of Jodhpur, those of Bikaner also maintained warm relations with the Mughals.

Kishangarh in Rajasthan was another small principality founded by Kishansingh in 1609. This branch was the outcome of the main Jodhpur branch of Rathods. Like other Rathod states, this too had accepted Mughal mansabdari.

The Rathod states of Rajasthan stood or placed no difficulty or impediment in the progress, publicity and propaganda of Jainism. During the period under review, many religious tours used to be in this region by the Bhattarakas Harivijay, Vijaysen, Vijaydeo, Vijaykushal Sahajagar of the *Tapagachcha*, and Jinachandra, Jinasagar etc. of the *Kharatara gachcha*. This belt or zone witnessed the creativity of a Jain poet, Dharmavardhan. As a result of the going cultural activities, many images of the Tirthankaras were installed at Kokind, Nakoda, Kaparda, Jalor, Merta, Nadol, Maroth, Krishnagarh etc. construction of some temples worth mentioning could also be possible only this time.

Our discussion would be incomplete without mentioning the two Jain families of Marwar region. These were of the Bhandaris and the Mehtas (Muhnots). The Bhandari family originally belonged to the Chahmana dynasty of Nadol. This produced persons like Naroji Samroji, Bhanaji, Ragnath, Khimsi, Vijay, Anupsingh, Pomsingh, Suratram, Ratansingh in the Oswal Jain tradition. Similarly, Maharajji, Raichandra, Vardhman, Krishadas, Askaran, Devichandra, Achloji, Jaimal, Nainsi, Sunderdas, Kramsi, Bairsi, Samarsi etc. were the prominent figures of the Muhnat descent. All of them were wise, well disposed, good administrators, and skilled in financial matters. The most eminent figure was Muhanta Nainsingh, his 'Khyat' and 'Sarvasanghrah' furnished reliable sources for the reconstruction of contemporary history. Unfortunately, the Mehta family met a pitiable end. But the services rendered by the Mehta families to Jain religion and art are still remembered.

THE BHATI RULE OF JAISALMER

Bhati Rajputs founded an independent kingdom in Jaisalmer in the early decades of the 14th century. The rule of the first three rulers of Jaisalmer, namely Devidas (1462-97), Jaitrasingh-II (1497-1528) and Lunakaran (1528-1550), has been very conspicuous from the point of view of Jainism. When Harraj Bhati was the ruler of Jaisalmer, treaties were signed and matrimonial relations were established with Akbar. This proved helpful in maintaining cordial relations. The rule of the later Bhati rulers was one of unrest, revolt, war and anarchy. Even then, Jainism was very effective in this state in the 17th and the 18th centuries. The Bhati rulers had regards for *acharya* Jinasingh, Jinaudai, Jinayukta, Jinachandra and other *suris* of the Kharatara *gachcha*. Therefore, during their reign the Jain community renovated many Jain temples and installed images of the Tirthankaras.

Jain Heritage Centres

ALWAR STATE

The Rajputs of Yadu lineage exerted immense influence in Alwar during the Mughal period. Similarly the cultural influence of the *Kashtha sangha* was being had here. Consequently, many Jain *shreshthis* from Delhi and Agra carried out building activities here.

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KACHCHAWAHA RULE IN AMER (JAIPUR)

In the Dhudhahana belt of Rajasthan, the Kachchawaha rule was most important from the point of view of Jainism. One ruler Puranmal of this descent had the title of the Raja of Ambar from the Mughal emperor Humayun. He had accepted Mughal *masabdari* and married one of his daughters to Akbar. His successors were Bhagvandas (1574-89), Raja Mansingh (1589-1614), Bhausingh (1589-1614), Mahasingh (1620-22), Mirza Jaisingh (1622-67) and Sawai Jaisingh were among the prominent rulers of this lineage. Owing to the mutual rivalry and Maratha invasions, Jaipur state became sufficiently weak after the death of Jaisingh-II.

The Kachchawaha rulers of Amer were on harmonious terms with the Mughals right from the 16th to the 18th centuries. The posts of prime ministers, treasures and other high posts were held by many Jain gentlemen. In a sense, the Kachchawaha rulers were confident enough in handing over administration to them. The names of those who were completely surrendered to the cause of Jain religion runthus Nanu Godha, Mohandas Khandelwal, Ratanchandra Shah, Nandlal, Kanhaiyalal, Devidas Khandelwal, Kaniram Ved, Tarachand Bilala, Kishordas Mahajan. Remaining on the high posts, Kasliwal Kesarisingh and Daulatram, Pandya Rao Jagram Mantri Kriparam, Fatehram, Bhagatram, and ballushah, Vimaldas, *Diwan* Ramchandra, Fatechandra, Kishanchandra, Lalchandra, Nainsukh etc. of the Chchabra families provided glory to Jain caste and religion. As the Bhattarakas of Chittor came to settle in Amer-Jaipur, the activities of the Bhattaraka sect became extensive in this area. As a result of this, the number of the followers of Lalikirti, Devendrakirti, Mahendrakirti, Surendrakirti, Yashkirti etc. the Bhattarakas of the Mulasangha increased.

Amer, Jaipur, Mojamabad, Jhunjhunu, Sawai Madhopur, Jabmer, Chatsu etc. had been the chief centres of Jainism during the rule of the kachchawahas. Taking advantage of the tolerance and patronage of the Kachchawaha rulers. The Jain community built many Jain temples at these places and organised idol installation ceremony. *Sanghapati* Mallidas, *Jeta seth* and Sanghvi Kalyandas organized big *sangha-yatras*.

SOUTH INDIA

South India, esp. Karnatak, has also been the stronghold of Jainism. During the Maurya period, Chandragupta Maurya had gone to Shravana Belgola along with his teacher (*guru*) Bhadrabahu. There at Chandra Mountain, he had given up his life. Some believe that on Bhadrabahu's return to Magadha, the emperor Samprati spread *Shraman* culture there. Great *Digambara* Jain *acharya* and philosopher Kundkunda was from South India. The Gagas, the Kadambas, the later Chalukyas, and the Hoysalas etc. ruling in South India in yore were those royal powers that enthusiastically supported Jain religion. Under their auspices, Jainism prospered in South India. Not only this, attempts were also made for the creation of literature, construction of caves and rock cut temples, erection of pillars and installation of images.

Now the question is how and via which way Jainism reached South India. It is obvious that Ashoka and his successors supported Buddhist and Ajivaka sects in Magadha, and the Shungas and the Kanvas supported Bhagavat sect. So the Kalinga-king Kharvela supported Jainism which gradually expanded over almost complete South India through Andhra and the coastal ranges of Tamilnadu. It is also possible that during the Mauryan rule, it reached Kuntal region from the route of Avanti *Janapada* via Maharashtra and Andhra regions. Congenial climate over there and the royal patronage led to the prosperity of Jain religion.

In the beginning of the early mediaeval period, military expedition of the Khiljis, the Tughlaq rule and the rise of Bahamani Kingdom, indeed, curbed the growth and development of Jainism in South India, but it could not be faded altogether. It again got momentum in the Hindu Vijayanagar Kingdom. This kingdom was quite tolerant and patronizing.

Vijayanagar kingdom was founded by the, 2 brave brothers of Sangam dynasty- Harihar and Bukka in 1336. Harihar-I (1336-54), Bukka I (1354-77), Harihar II (1377-1405) and Devrai I (1404-22) were the first to rule. After Devrai-I's death, Viravijay, Ramchandra, Devrai II, Mallikarjuna (adult Devrai) and Virupaksha continued to rule Vijayanagar up to 1485. But excepting Devrai II, all were weak and utter failure. Therefore, under the supervision of Narsa Nayak, the generals uprooted Sangam power and made Narsimha of Saluv descent the ruler. Narsimha (1485-90), and Immadi Narsimha of Saluv dynasty ruled one after the other. His son Vir Narsimha murdered Immodi Narsimha in 1505, took power in his hand and founded Tuluv dynasty. Krishnadeo Rai (1505-29) of the Tuluv dynasty was an able, a great expander of empire, a good administrator and a brave ruler. After him, Achyutdeo Rai (1529-42) and Sadashiv (1542-72) came to the throne. During their reign, the power, virtually, remained in the hands of Ram Rai who was able and brave, but also no less cunning. His activities paved the way for the invasion of the collective army of the different states of Bahmani over Vijaynagar. The Battle of Rakshasi Tagadi (Talikota) in 1565 gave place to the ravage of the capital. This battle has been one of the most fierce and destructive battles of India. Though vijayanagar empire continued to exist for over a century after this battle, but just to reach the nadir of decline. Sadashiv went to Penukonda along with his minister, Tirumal. There he founded the Andavidu Dynasty.

There were many feudal states connected with Vijaynagar Kingdom. After its fall, many of them became independent. Chief ones were-Saluv of Sangitpur, Bhairaras of Karkal, Ajil of Velur, Arsu of Viliker, Pandya of Warkuru, Changanalv and odiyar of

Mysore region. Chandravanshi of Gagari, Mula of Bailgari, sawant of Mulki, and Raje of Vilugi. Similarly, Pregoda, Tuluv, Chamrajnagar, Gerusappe and other regions were also parading their independent existence. In those dynasties, many eminent persons ruled. They were very considerate to the Jains, their society, community and religion. Many of their ministers, generals, and official members were true to Jainism; they followed it strictly.

Along with the rulers, persons related to them were also the followers of Jainism. The chief queen Bukkave, queen Sugunidevi, Bhimadevi, princess Devmati, queen Chennabhairav etc. are remembered in this reference. Rajakulashekhar, Alupendra Deo, Saluvendra, the ruler of Sangitpur and Indagaras (Immadi Saluvendra), Vira Pandya Bhairarasa, Gopana and Harihar, odeyar, Naganna Vodeyar, Raja Perumaldev, Prommideo, the vice rulers, too showed equal enthusiasm and zeal for Jain religion. Different feudals, generals, *shreshthis*, and high officials contributed to the growth of Jainism to the full. *Dandanayak* Vira Baichap, Mangap, Bukkan, *Dandesh* Iruk, Gund, Jain *Mahasenapati* Irugap, Manti Pandnabh, Kuchiraj, Gop Mahaprabhu, Gopach Moop Gop and Kampanna Gond, Purushottamraj Kamashreshthi, setti Bhayanna *seth* Busuvi and Gummotanna, court dancer, Gayi etc. not only helped the cause of the rise of Jainism, but also completed construction works.

The Digambara *amnay* had its swing in South India. The Jain view given by north to south India was paid back with interest by the South Indian Jain *acharyas* like Kundkunda, Madhavsena, and Vishalkirti. The Bhattarakas tradition had its march from south to north. During the later mediaeval period, many *munis*, *pandits*, authors, poets, *Suris* and Bhattarakas of the South India, re-established Jainism and unfurled or hoisted its standard therein even under adverse conditions. Among such religious leaders Hemachandra Bhattarakas's disciple Telug Adidev, Maladhari Madhavchandra Ramachandra and Keshava, Aluva Mahaprabhu, *muni* Bhadradeo Shrutmuni, Charuchandra *Pandit*, Manikyadeo, Shrutkirtideo's disciple *muni* Adideo, Panditdeo Nyayakirti, Shubhachandra, Nemichandra, *Suri* Mallinath, Vijayakirtideo, Bhattarakas Lalitkirti, Dharmabhushan Charuchandra etc. have prominence. One inscription at Shravana Belgola bearing the date 1373 bears the names of the Bhattarakas Vasantkirti, Devendrakirti, Vishalkirti, Shubhakirti, *Kalikalsarvagya Bhattarakas* Dharmabhushan Amarkirti and *muni* Vardhaman.

From this point of view, the role filled in by the Jain poets and authors cannot be underestimated. Through the medium of their creativity, Simhakirti, Udai bhasha-Chakravarti, Bhaskar, Kalyankirti, Jinadeo, *pandit* Bahubali, Keshavavarni, court-poet Madhur, Abhinav shrutmuni, Chandrakirti, Vijay etc. glorified Jain religion, philosophy, personages and traditions.

This time, the tendency to die at self-will had become most popular in South India. This process has been named *Samadhi maran*. Ladies like Alamba, Kamigaudi, Ramigaudi, Kaligaudi, and persons like Bechigauda, Vemmagauda, Mechak, Bhadradeo, Tammagauda, Chandappa, Payanna, Chandagauda, Siriyanna, Harubgauda Gopan, Gopgauda, Madukgauda had adopted this very process of *Samadhi-maran*.

Besides, Vijaynagar, Kuragahalli, Rabandur, Mulgunda, Shravana Belgola, Hariyawali, Mullura, Sangitapura, Mudabidri, Karkal, Velur, Bhatkal etc. too have been the important Jain centres during this period. Many Jain *basadis* were built, and so also many Jain temples at the places referred to.

The *manastambhas* erected during this period at places like Shravana Belgola, Kambadhalli, Humacha, Hiriagarhi, Karkal, Mulki, Mudabidri are still adding beauty to these places. It is surprising to note that Jainism, born in east (gradually) received its garb in west and south during the later period. During the later Maurya and shunga period, the Buddhist, the Ajivaka, and the Vaishnav religion got much royal patronage in east India, and probably because of this, Jain *dharmacharyas* and their adherents had to take asylum elsewhere.

Before the division of Jainism into the *Digambara* and the *Shvetambara amnay* (tradition) south India had come in contact with Jainism in its pristine form. Thus, south was fortunate enough to receive undivided Jain *amnay* from Mahavira to the time of Bhadrabahu. And that prospered there the same way. Jain religion in South India had to play its part in presence of different religious traditions prevailing over there. so, it stressed more on the philosophical aspect. Just as the south Indian Brahmana philosophical Schools of Advaita, Vaishistavaita, Dvaita, Dvaitadvait etc. became the foundation stone for different Brahmana schools, sects and doctrines in north, the traditions of the Jain Mula *sangha*, *saraswati gachha*, *Balatkara gana Nandi sangha*, *kashtha sangha*, and the Bhattaraka tradition in north also hailed from south and held sway for over centuries. For years together, the conduct and life of the people continued to be affected by that. So, the *shramana* tradition, which disappeared from east, continued to grow and develop in south. It had unadulterated protection and patronage there.

Jain Heritage

SHAPE/FORM OF LATER MEDIAEVAL JAINISM

In the demographical structure of India, the percentage of the followers, Jainism is almost nugatory or the number of Jains is of nano value (using compulingo) or the Jains are incredibly small in number. But their inborn yen and inquisitiveness, kinesis, creativity business and commerce-capacity, entrepreneurship, administrative guts, artistic and philosophical aptitude etc. have proved very effective and telling. Owing to these characteristics of theirs, Jainism could till now remain an undying force along with its *shraman* culture, and atheist philosophy the culmination of which is *Anekantvada* (non-absolutism in thought of many sidedness of reality). In one way or the other, it has left an indelible pring on the sands of history. Despite this, it could not withhold itself from its opinionative and practical division. Its division into the *Digambara* and the *Shvetamabara amnays* (traditions/sects) was quite apparent as early as 3rd century before christ.

With the passing of time, these two traditions got further divided into different *sanghas, ganas, gachchas* etc., each having its own traditions and anvays.

The question that stands to reason is what were the factors working behind. To understand this, we will have to dive deep into the reality.

There does not seem to be as much doctrinal or philosophical difference in its branches and scions as it is in the way of conduct and practice. Laxity in conduct (*shithilachara*) seems to have been the most important factor behind the origin of different *sanghas* and *gachchas*.

When some persons or *acharyas* (spiritual leaders) tried to make amendments in the existing *sangha* or tradition by introducing new code of conduct or anything like that, it was called laxity of conduct (*shithil-a-chara*). It is clear that amendments in Buddhist Hinayana gave birth to Mahayana. And to the former, the latter was an example of *sithilachara* in Jain terminology. The conservatives, therefore, rose in revolt against the radicals. Hence *schism* in the church (*sangha*) became inevitable.

Sometime after there arose prestige point with regard certain issues among *sadhus* (monks in general) *acharyas* (spiritual leaders) and *shravakas* (lay votaries). This too gave rise to different offshoots in Jainism in the form of *sanghas gachchas, ganas*. After Jagachhachandra Suri, his two disciples - Vijayachandra Suri and Devendra Suri of the *Tapa gachcha* stooe in one another's teeth.

Then, some controversy among the followers of a demised *acharya* in regard to succeeding his *patta* also gave rise to schism in the church (*sangha*). When more than one claimant came forward to succeedd the vacant *patta*, the tradition of that *Patta* was bound to meet division.

In early mediaeval period, many Vaishyas and Kshatriyas were ordained to Jainism. They naturally became the follower of that *gachcha* which their ordainer belonged to.

Inspite of the teachings of non-accumulation or non-possession (*aparigraha*) by Jainism, the followers of it have been very rich and prosperous. Being comparatively less in number, religious insistence has been most persistent among the Jains. Many of their cultural and social acts were confined to their society only. Under these circumstances, the presence of narrowness in regard to conduct and the show of pelf in the form of donation has been psychological veracity. The *Shravakas'* pride of pelf

(wealth), and their ostentatious show to keep up family-fame etc. have also provided for the division of Jain society into many sects and sub-sects. To their luck, there have been many such religious *gurus* who favoured either this or that group for their own name and fame. This further speeded up the process of division in the *sangha*.

Jainism occupies a special seat for its principles of non-attachment, retirement, renunciation, self-denial. Its *sadhus*, whether *Digambara* or *Shvetambara* have been the paradigms of non-accumulation or non-possession (*aparigraha*), restraint (*sanyam*) and church-discipline (*sangha-anushashan*). This went on for a considerable time, but not for all time to come. The hidden tendency for reputation and supremacy of the *sadhus* came to the forefront as the time passed by. Condition became so crucial that the schism took place even on minor matters of *pinchhi* (sweeping duster of peacock fathers) and *langot* (a piece of cloth to cover secret organ). Worship-methods also helped the cause of division. Temple and *sthanak* traditions, drawing their daggers of bitterness at one another, rode roughshod over division. Jainism could not ride itself out from divisions and sub-divisions. Sects sprouted forth from different traditions held by different *sadhus*. Many *sadhus* were enslaved by falsity of purpose so much that they began to regard it as a part of their religious activities. *Chaityavasis* (dwellers in temples) or *Bhattarakas* were such type of persons.

Those who tried to effect coordination between two axes (axles) formed a separate group of their own, instead. *Solapanthis* furnish an example of those who had tried to bring about harmony, mutual understanding and coordination between *Terepanthis* and *Bispanthis*. They are known as *Totapanthis* also.

The different divisions and sub-divisions, *ganas* and *gachchas* etc. present in Jain religion are the results less of doctrinal and traditional struggle, and more of laxity of conduct, prestige and ego. Since the original form of Jainism has been republican, it could sustain its entity in spite of all adversities the fruits of which, oft, prove sweet. Its different sects subjected themselves to mutual invectives, criticism and rejoinder though, its originality could not be broken. That has been constantly decisive. This doctrinal unity of Jainism has kept intact its *Anekantwada* till today. Hence the study of the shape/form of later mediaeval Jainism is justified.

In early mediaeval India, a sort of strange transformation or change took place in Jainism. Though division of Jainism into *Shvetambara* and *Digambara* *amnays* (traditions) had already occurred long ago. But, that was confined to the wearing of clothes and *purvas* (canons), and their reading and redaction (?). Simplicity of renunciation and non-attachment lingered on even after Mahavira and *ganadharas* left this transient world. Religion was not complex. The *sadhus*, the *Shravakas* and *Shravikas* had full faith in the traditional provision for *panchamahavratas* (5 great vows). Laxity in conduct (*shithilachara*) had, by and by, started creeping in, yet there was lack of staunchness in Jain society in the matter of division based on sects. There was constant pressure of thought on conduct; hence the original philosophico-doctrinal perspective still remained effective.

As Jainism migrated from its place of genesis to south and west, regional elements or factors or characteristics began to predominate. This had to determine its course through many non-Jain customs, rituals, and rites (domestic and those of passage). Bound by the mirage of *agams* and *tantras*, *Chaityavasis* (dwellers in temples) in comparison to *Vanavasis* (dwellers in forests), and the *Bhattaraka* consciousness or awareness in comparison to the original *Digambara* view began to find its decisive

place in early mediaeval Indian society. Fortunately, Jain community could save itself from *leshyas* (different colours or tints, namely, black, blue, gray fiery red, lotus pink or yellow and white varying according to the merits or demerits of a particular being) to a greater extent, but *aishna* element could no more remain excluded. *Aishna* did find its place. Difference between the *sadhhus* and the *shravakas* emerged on this issue also. As such, conduct-side predominated over the thought-side. Mutual scriptural debates began to take place; one community prided in defeating the *dharmacharyas* of other community. Moreso, the defeating party felt more peacocky when it received honours from the rulers and the administrators in doing so. With a view to attract the people, the *sadhhus* inspired the process of conversion and false show of grandeur. They became Holy Willies (dharmadambaris) believing in razz-mtazz (noisy showing activity intended to attract attention and admiration). Consequently mutual differences became inevitable.

This presented the scenario of differences and debates in contemporary Jain religion. Some believers in non-attributes (*nirguna*) proved radicals and the propagators of drastic in *puja paddhati* (worship-method). Lonkashah and Taranswami were the inducers and inductors of this new trend. With this background at our hand, it will not be out of place to give a brief survey of the different sects and sub-sects of Jainism in early mediaeval period.

Jain Heritage Centres

THE DIGAMBARA SECT

The study of Indian Jainism has been very wide and complex right from the 13th to the 18th century. Elaboration of this subject is a time-consuming, and laborious task. And, it is difficult to say that the work of those scholars, experts and intellectuals who have burnt their midnight oil for this is ever unmistakable and complete in totality.

Mediaeval Jainism got divided into many scions on the basis different groups and sects. According to Devasen the process of dividing from the *Mula Sangha* of the *sadhus* (original or primary group of the saints) began in the 5th century along with the establishment of the *Dravida Sangha* by Vajranandi. Many Digambara, *Ganas*, *gachchas*, or *sanghas* originated. Chief among them are-the Sen *gana*, the Balatkara *gana*, the Nandi *gana* the Desi *gana*, the Dramis *gana*, the Kranur *gana*, the Saraswati *gachcha*, the Mula *sangha*, the nandi *sangha*, the Mayur *sangha*, the Kitthur *sangha* and the Kulattu *sangha*.

Jain Heritage Centre

THE BHATTARAK SECT

Alienating itself from the *Mula sangha*, there started a special tradition from south, viz, the Bhattaraka tradition. That made its entry mainly into the Digambara (to some extent, the mediaeval Shvetambara also) *ganas* and the *sanghas*.

The *Pattavalis* of the Nandi *sangha* refer to the ancient Bhattaraka tradition. They mention that after Bhadrabahu (the second) to the beginning of the 12th century, fiftyone *acharyas* came one after the other. Actually, this *Patta* tradition began from Bhattilpur in south. From the time of the 27th *acharya*, Mahakirti, this tradition arrived in Ujjain. In the 11th century, the *acharyas* from Lakshmichandra to Lokchandra went to Chanderi from Ujjain, while as the last 3 *acharyas*- shrutakirti, Bhavachandra and Mahachandra began to adorn Vidisha *patta*.

THE MULA SANGHA

Some talk on the Mula *sangha* does deserve mention in the present context. This seems to have been extant in 4th century in south India. Later on, it developed sufficiently. The Deva *Gana*, the Sen *gana*, the Desiya *gana*, the Nandi *gana*, the Surasya *gana* the Kranur *gana* the Balatkara *gana*, the Saraswati *gana* etc. cohered to it. Though, originally a south Indian tradition, it prospered abundantly in north India also. The south tradition divided into Latur and Karanja branches, whileas in north, this flourished enough after the 14th century.

These Bhattarakas, keeping away from detachment and nomadism, used to live in different monasteries and temples. wear costly dresses, ornament crowns etc., and were the owners of big *dharmasthalas*, pompous residents, and of many acres of land. Sitting of their *pattas* (seats) with regal decor, they used to install many images and *yantras*. They also claimed to have proficiency in *mantra sidhis* (control over spells and occult powers), and they used to participate in shows and variety-entertainment also. Exerting their influence on the mind of the populace, they lived in eclat and induced the mob.

The conservative Jain *sadhus* and *shravakas* were not in consonance with the activities of the Bhattarakas, because according to them, they were deviating from simplicity, devotion, asceticism *silavratas* (3 *gunavratas*, and 4 *shikshavratas*) and *mula gunas* (primary qualities including avoidance of meat, wine, honey, fruits, roots, and night-eating) thus falling prey to laxity of conduct. But nothing could be done. They had gathered enough public-support in their favour and sizable following by virtue of their name and fame.

Joharapurkar in his book 'Bharraraka Sampradaya' has thrown much light on the Bhattaraka tradition. The gist of the description of the later mediaeval Bhattaraka tradition given by him runs thus-

SEN GANA : The main centre of the Sen *gana* related to the Panch Stupanvaya, the Rishbha Senanvaya, the surasya *gana*, the pogari (pushkar) *gachcha* etc. has been Karanja city of Vidarb region. Maharashtra, karnataka, and Gujarat provinces have been under the immense influence of this *gana*. Many of inscriptional sources include this *gana* in the Mula *sangha*. Shridharsen Devasen. Somasena, Gunabhadra, Maniksen and Somasena, Somasena, Jinasen, Samantabhadra, Chhatrasen, Narendrasen, Shantisen, Siddhasen etc. happened to be some of the main Bhattarakas of this *gana* respectively in the 14th 15th, 16th, 17th and 18th century. *Patta* - tradition of the Sen *gana* is in prevalence even today.

BALATKARA GANA : The initial sources of the existence of this *gana* are available to us from the 14th century. In the 14th century, the Saraswati (Sharda) *gachcha* originated from this *gana*. The early *acharyas* of this *gana* in the 13th century were : Deshnandi and Shravanasen (Knaksen). and after them Vanvasi, Vasantkirti, Devendra, Vishalkirti, Shubhkirti, Dharmabhushan Amarkirti, Simhanandi, Dharmabhushan, Vardhman and Dharmabhushan etc. respectively seated on this *patta*. The later *acharyas* had their sway in Vijayanagar Kingdom. Later on developed the karanja and Latur branches of the Balatkara *gana*.

KARANJA BRANCH : The first known *acharya* of this branch that came into existence in the 16th century was Amarkirti. His disciples Vadindra Vishalkirti had good influence on the rulers of Bahamani and Vijayanagar Kingdoms. After this the Bhattarakas of this *patta* were respectively Devendrakirti, Dharmachandra, Dharmabhushan , Devendrakirti, Kukudchandra, Dharmachandra and Dharmabhushan. The last one remained on the *patta* upto 1675. One of his disciple Vishalkirti became the *pattadhar* of karanja, and from another one Ajitkirti sprang forth Latur branch. Dharmachandra, Devendrakirti, Dharmachandra, Devendrakirti, Padmanandi, Devendrakirti and Ratnakirti adorned the karanja *patta* one after the other right from the 17th to the 19th century. After him came Devendrakirti. He was the last of the Bhattarakas of this branch.

LATUR BRANCH : The tenth Bhattaraka Ajitkirti of Karanja branch laid the foundation of Latur Branch in the middle of the 16th century. Ajitkirti's respective successors were: Vishalkirti, Mahichandra, Mahibhushan, Shantikirti, Kalyankirti, Gunakirti, Chandrakirti, and Maniknandi.

One more branch of Latur branch started from 1679 by Vishalkirti, the Bhattaraka of Karanja tradition. Then came successively - Vidyabhushan, Hemakirti, Ajitkirti etc. This *patta* tradition is extant even today.

LATER BALATKARA GANA BRANCH : Mula *sangha* has been the oldest *sangha* of the Diagambara sect. According to a later tradition, Kundakunda *acharya* had established this *sangha*. *pattavalis* give credit of its establishment to Maghnandi. Coming to the 5th century A.D., Mula-*sangha* had well established in south and many *ganas* and *gachchas* related to this had earned enough popularity. Especially Nandi *sangha*, Balatkara *gana* and Saraswat *gachcha* became sufficiently effective and powerful in later mediaeval India.

So far as the later mediaeval branch of the Balatkara *gana* is concerned, the concerning *pattavalis* regard it as older if not the oldest one and they provide a list of 77 *acharyas* from Guptigupta and Maghnandi to Abhayakirti. Though their historicity is doubtful, the 78th Bhattaraka Vasantkirti was definitely a historical figure. Their tradition and known dates have been as follows.

Vasantkirti (1209), Shubhakirti, Dharmachandra (1214-39), Ratnakirti (1239-53) and Padmanandi (1253-1397). After Bhattaraka Padmanandi, the *gadi* or the *patta* (seat) was divided among his 3 disciples. The Delhi branch started from his disciple, Shubhachandra. His *Pattadhara* was Jinachandra (1450-1514). One of his disciples, Ratnakirti established Nagaur Branch, and another one, Simhakirti that of Ater.

Thus, we see that only one later branch of the Balatkara *gana* of the Mula *sangha* branched into various branches. And the *gadi* of the *acharyas* not only divided but transferred also We find that the *gadi* of the Mula *sangha* was transferred from Baran

to Chittor and Baghera, and from there to Ajmer, and from Three branches of the Bhattaraka Padmanandi's three disciples came into existence (1) Delhi-Jaipur branch from Shubhachandra, (2) Idar branch from Sakalkirti, (3) Surat branch from Devendrakirti. Jinachandra (1450-1514) and Prabhachandra (1514) respectively succeeded Shubhachandra of Delhi branch. In the time of Prabhachandra, this *gadi* came from Delhi to Chittor. His *guru bhai* (teacher brother), Ratnakirti set up a separate *gadi* at Nagaur. Emergence of differences led to further division. Of course, one branch shifted to Ajmer and another remained in Nagaur itself. Similarly, in the time of Prabhachandra's successor Chandrakirti, Chittor *gadi* shifted to Chatsu. After this, it shifted respectively to Sanganer, Anwa, Amer and finally to Jaipur.

With a view to provide completeness to the above discussion, it will be quite justified to supply a list of the Bhattarakas of different disciplines.

DELHI-JAIPUR BRANCH : Padmanandi's disciple Shubhachandra (1393-1450), Jinachandra (1450-1514), Prabhachandra (1514-23) in whose time this branch went to Chittor, Chandrakirti (branch went to Chatsu), Devendrakirti (1606), Narendrakirti (1634), Surendrakirti (1665), Jagatkirti (1676), Devendrakirti (the Second), Mahendrakirti (1733) in whose time the Bhattaraka *pitha* went to Amer-Jaipur, Kshemendrakirti (1758), Surendrakirti, the second (1765), and Sukhendrakirti¹.

NAGOUR BRANCH : Jinachandra (1450-1514), Ratnakirti (1524), Bhuwankirti (1529), Dharmakirti (1533), Vishalkirti, (1544) Lakshmichandra (1554), Sahastrakirti (1574), Nemichandra (1593), Yashkirti (1615), Bhanukirti (1633), Shribhushan (1648), Dharmachandra (1655), Devendrakirti (1670), Surendrakirti (1681) and Ratnakirti (1688) were some of the chief Bhattarakas of Nagaur branch.

IDAR BRANCH : Padmanandi, Sakalkirti (1393-1453), Bhuwankirti (1451-70) Jnanbhushan (1477-1503) in whose time Jnankirti established a separate seat at Bhanpura, Vijakirti (1500-1511), Shubhachandra (1516-1556), Sumatikirti (1565-68), Gunakirti (1574-82), Vadibhushan (1595-99), Ramakirti (1600-25), Padmanandi (1626-45), Devendrakirti (1656-68), Kshemakirti (1677), Narendrakirti (1705), Vijayakirti, and Nemichandra² were the prominent figures of Idar branch.

THE ATER BRANCH : The Ater branch originated from Simhakirti (1463-74), a disciple of Bhattaraka Jinachandra. Then those seated after him on this *patta* (upto 18th century) respectively were the Bhattarakas - Dharmakirti, Shilabhushan Jnanabhushan, Jagatbhushan, Vishvabhushan, Devendrabhushan, Surendrabhushan and Lakshmi bhushan.

THE SURAT BRANCH : Bhattaraka Padmanandi's disciple Devendrakirti started this branch. After him this branch divided. The chief *pattadhara*s of the main branch upto 18th century were respectively - Vidyanandi, Mallibhushan and Lakshmichandra, Virachandra Jnanabhushan, Prabhachandra, Vadichandra, Mahichandra, Meruchandra Jinachandra, Vidyanandi, Devendrakirti, Vidyabhushan, and Dharmachandra.

THE JERHAT BRANCH : This branch was established in about 1495 by Tribhuwanakirti, a disciple of Devendrakirti, the *Pattadhisha* of the Surat branch. Then, respective *Pattadhishas* adorning this *patta* were - Sahastrakirti, padmanandi, Yeshahakirti, and Lalitkirti. After Lalitakirti, his chief disciple Dharmakirti (1588-1623) took possession of the original (*Mula*) *gadi*. His respective successors were - Padmakirti, Sakalakirti, and Surendrakirti, Another disciple Ratnakirti founded a sub-

branch which declined after Chandrakirti (1618-24). Even, otherwise, we do not find any trace of the existence of the Jerhat branch after 17th century.

THE KASHTHA SANGHA : In the Digambara Bhattaraka tradition, the *Kashtha sangha* seems to have had sufficient mobility like the *Mula sangha*. The credit of founding this *sangha* in Nandiyad (modern Nander) in south India in the last decade of the 7th century goes to *acharya* Kumarasena. It is a strange coincidence that the name of this *sangha* got associated with the name of a village, Kashtha near Delhi. Originally, the *Kashtha sangha* was not the name of this *sangha*. The mentionable among those *sanghas* and *gachchas* which prospered in the Digambara *amray* during early mediaeval period are - Mathur, Vagada, Lada Vagada, (Lata Vargata), Nanditata etc. Along with the time, these *sanghas* and *gachchas* came together and got merged into the original big *Kashtha sangha* of course, keeping their independent names secure. The Punnata *sangha* of south affected north to some extent because we find its mention in an image inscription of the 12th century in Badnawar (Vardhmanpur) of Malwa. It seems, this *sangha* also gradually lost its separate entity in favour of the *Kashtha sangha*. Thus in the *kashtha sangha* the names of Mathur the *Ladwargarh* and the *Nanditat gachcha*, and the *pushkar gana* also came to be reckoned. The list of the Bhattarakas of the later mediaeval period of these *gachchas* runs thus.

THE MATHUR GACHCHA : The Bhattarakas from the 12th to the beginning of the 14th century were Madhavasena, Uddharasena, Devsena, Vimalsena, Dharmasena, Dhavasena and Sahastrakirti. Then we have the names of the Bhattarakas Gunakirti, Yashahakirti, Malayakirti, Gunachandra, Bhanukirti and Kumarsen who lived in 15th and 16th century.

The Bhattaraka tradition of this *gachcha* that started from Vijayasena, a disciple of Madhavasena and a teacher-brother of Uddharasena lingered on upto 15th century and the chief *Pattadharas* were - Nayasen, Shreyansasen, Anantakirti, Kamalakirti, Kshemakirti, Hemakirti, Kamalakirti (1449-53), Kumarasena and Hemachandra. In the 16th century after Hemachandra came Padmanandi, Yashahakirti, Kshemachandra and Tribhuwanakirti. Those who occupied this *patta* in the 17th and 18th century were respectively- Sahastrakirti, Mahichandra, Devendrakirti, Jagatakirti etc. This *patta* exists even today.

In the later 16th century, the tradition started by Gunachandra, the teacher-brother (*guru-bhai*) of the Bhattaraka Kshemakirti was shorted-lived. After him only Sakalachandra and Mahendrasen became the Bhattarakas. That was all.

THE LADWA GACHCHA : By the later mediaeval period, the punnata and the Vagada *gachchas* merged in this *gachcha*. This *gachch* was founded by Jayasen in the 8th century. That continued to be upto the end of the 15th century. The later mediaeval Bhattarakas of this *gachcha* were - Mahendrasen, Anantakirti, Vijayasen, Chitrasen, Padmasen, Tribhuwanakirti, Dharmakirti, Malayakirti, Narendrakirti, Pratapkirti, and Tribhuwanakirti.

THE NANDITATA GACHCHA : The orderly Bhattaraka tradition of this *gachcha* is available to us from the 15th century. The respective Bhattarakas who occupied the original (*Mula*) *Patta* of Lakshmisena (the *pattadhara* of the Bhattaraka Ratnakirti) upto the end of the 17th century were - Bhimasena, Sonakirti - Bhimasena, Vijayasena, Yashahakirti, Udaisena, Tribhuwanakirti, Ratnabhushan, Jaikirti, Keshavasena and Vishwakirti.

The Bhattaraka tradition of the Bhattaraka Lakshmisena's disciple Dharmasena existed upto early 19th century. His respective successors were - Vimalasena, Vishalakirti, Vishwasena and Vidyabhushan, Shribhushan, Chandrakirti, Rajakirti, Lakshmisena, Indrabhushan, Surendrakirti etc. After the last mentioned bhattaraka, the gadi was divided into 3 of his disciples - Lakshmisena, Sakalakirti and Devendrakirti.

This list of the various Bhattaraka tradition is not the last one. Our knowledge of the Bhattarakas of the later mediaeval period of Vidisha, Chanderi, Sojitra etc. is very little. But many literary and epigraphical sources speak eloquently about some of the Digambara Bhattarakas of these places. We also have references to the fact that many disciples of the Bhattarakas grew ambitious of their *pattas* and, an such, they set up their own *gadis*. But these *gadis* proved short-lived for want of support, and prop.

Whatsoever the condition might be, the Bhattaraka tradition/sect influenced Jain community of south, west and central and north India a lot. In spite of the political, geographical and doctrinal differences, in Karnataka, Andhra, Maharashtra, Gujarat, Madhya Bharat, Rajasthan, Bundelkhand, Delhi, etc. the existence of the Bhattaraka tradition made itself felt. It was the result of this that many scriptures (*granthas*) were written, many Bhattarakas and *dharmacharyas* were honoured many temples were built, and images of the *Tirthankaras* and Yaksha-Yakshis were built in thousands. Written literature, and image inscriptions reveal different aspects of the then social, political and cultural life.

The Bhattaraka sect has been carped at by the Jain and the non-Jain community. This carping aims at showing that this has tried to impose royalty over asceticism, possession or accumulation over non-possession or non-accumulation, discipleship over non-discipleship, attachment over detachment. May be, this criticism is justified, but the role of the Bhattarakas cannot be denied or overlooked. The Bhattarakas of the later mediaeval period were playing an important part amongst the Bahamanis in south, and in many regions of Malwa, Gujarat, Delhi and Rajasthan. The Jain faith dismantling or downing before Islam had to be kept intact somehow or the other. The total patronage of different Hindu royal powers was also inevitable for them. Therefore, they thought it better to deviate (a little or completely) from the traditional faith and live at a particular place and establish a *patta* over there, to have the power of controlling spells and secret lore, to do still more new experiment in religious life, to give an impetus to music and art, and to have resort to royal grandeur for popularizing the dying faith. By the later mediaeval period, the challenges coming before the Jain world began to him, and so also the influence of the Bhattarakas day by day.

Besides, many more reasons were there for the fall of the Bhattaraka tradition. Though the traditional ascetic-class had, for sometime, become helpless and passive, it was tortured and sad from within. The traditional *sadhus* (ascetics or monks) were anxious to revive the glory that was Jainism. Amongst them were both the idol-worshippers and the non-worshippers of idols. The Taranapanth or Sammaiya *panth* founded by Taranswami against idol-worship proved very opposing and revolting. This *panth* (sect) stressed on the shapeless non-attributive shape of *shuddhatma* (the pure self or soul), and put a mark of interrogation on the luxurious and splendid life of the Bhattarakas. To save the Bhattaraka traditions from the arrows and slings of outrageous criticism of the Taranpanthis, a new sect called *Vishwa-Pantha* or *Bis-panth* had to be born. But the decline of the Bhattaraka sect became more apparent

when the *Vidhimargis* arose in open feud or enmity. This was a sect of idol-worshippers that stood in the teeth of the practices adopted and followed by the *Bis-panthis*. The *Terapanth*, born in the 17th century, proved more aggressive in this regard. This *panth* was founded by Amarchand in Sanganer (Rajasthan). The most influential personality of all the followers of this *panth* was Banarsidas whose rare impact in the cultural and political field has already been discussed in the foregoing pages. The thirteen *sutras* (or formularies) propounded by him proved to be foundation stone of this *panth*. This *Tera-panth* was absolutely defferent from that of the Shvetambara *Terapanth*.

In the 18th century, one more new *panth* (sect) was founded in Jaipur by Gumaniram. This is known as *Gumani-Panth* or *Shuddha-amnay* (Pure-tradition). This sect does not have as much faith in *bhava puja* (idol worship) or simply in idols. In order to bring about coordination between the *Bis-panthis* and the *Tera-panthis* in Rajasthan itself, one more panth or sect called *solaha* or *Tota pantha* was brought into existence. But being non-acceptable to both, it could not survive for long.

Surprisingly enoug, the entire Shvetambara sect was opposed to the Bhattaraka tradition, but even then it could not refrain itself from being attracted by it. Many Shvetambara *acharyas* began to assume the title of Bhattaraka.

However, under the prevalent circumstances, the Bhattaraka sect gradually declined and became moribund. Though, at some places, the Bhattaraka-*gadis* still exist which are, now, just a secondary and only a mini edition of a long great tradition.

Jain Heritage Centres

THE SHVETAMBARA SECT

The Shvetambara sect gave an introduction to its rare capacity and efficiency during mediaeval period in Jain-world. Its speed continued to be fast right from the 8th to the 18th century. Gujarat, Rajasthan and Malwa remained main centres of the Shvetambara sect during the period under review. Even then to our dismay, it could not present and organised and a disciplined perspective. The dividing lines that mad their preliminary appearance during early mediaeval period not only became prominent this time, but they immensely contributed to the formation fo different *gachchas*. The traditional 84 *gachchas* as given in the *Pattavalis* still remained more or less in the same number. Of course, some old names dropped, and new ones added. But sometimes, the number reached even 100. And this number is exclusive of many disappeared and short-lived *gachchas*.

Naming of various *gachchas* was based on some event or ascribed title, *suri* of *acharya*, some particular place or coincidence. We have inscriptional evidences of the existence of some important *gachchas* (of 10th to 13th century) like Vata (later on Brihad), Kharatara, Upakesha (Ukesha), Sander (Sanderaka) Purnimiya, Agam, Malladhari, Brahamana, Nivritti, Tapa (Laghu and Brihad) Vayat, Dhara, Chandra, Yashaha suri, Bhavadeva, Bhavaharsha, Dhaneshwara, Kamyaka, Oswal, Brahmi, Devabhidita, Pippal, Amradeva, Bhartari, Jalvayadhara, Vatapiya, Arasana, Kasahrida etc. Some other *gachchas* also existed.

The names of the many Shevatambara *gachchas* extant between 13th and 16th century are available to us from epigraphical and literary sources. They are as follows —

Brihad, Brihad Paushadha, laghu Paushadha, kharatara, Anchala, Upakesha, Krishnarshi, Komala, Chchadayatha, Korant, Kachcholi, Chaitra, Jirapalli (Jiraula), Thirapadriya, Dharmaghosha, Nagendra, Nigama, Nivritti, Pippal, Brahma, Bhawadara, Madahada, Malladhari, Vimala, Sanderaka, Saraswati, Siddhanti, Chitrapalliya, Chitrawada, Chchahitra, Jakhariya, Jalohariya, Dekatriya, Dwivandanika Nagara, Nagori Nanakiya (Jnanakiya Tawakiya), Nanawala, Palli (Pali, Pollivala, Palikiya) Kashahrida, Pippala1, Bonkadiya, Bhinamala, Raja, Ramasaneyi, Rudrapaliya, Vidyadhara, Vritrona, Dharayadriya Sitara, Suvihita, Sudharma, Harshapuriya, Harija, Devacharya, Prabhakara, Vyovasimha, Hummada, Jnakappa, Nagapuriya, Chandra, Hastikundi, Bharatapuriya, Ratanapuriya, Japadana, Tawadara, Vatapiya, Sarawala, Chandhala, Praya, Kasahrida etc. Many of them either lost their existence altogether or merged into some other *gachchas*. Later on, some new *gachchas* emerged out of which Kadua tenet, and Vijaya *gachcha* deserve mention.

It seems that the process of the rise and fall of the *gachchas* has been most fast and speedy in Marwar, esp. in Sirohi region. Jaipur, Haroti, Mewar and malwa regions also more or less followed their suit. In later mediaeval period, there was a sort of effective competition in the *Tapa* and the *Kharatara gachcha* of Gujarat. As a matter of fact, entire, Shvetambara world moved round the axis of these2 *gachchas*. Many of the above mentioned *gachchas*, probably, were related to them only, but nothing definite can be said about this for lack of valid and credible proofs.

Now the question that strikes to us is that why Gujarat and Rajasthan alone remained not only the sheer patrons of Jain religion but its enthusiastic propagators also. It has already been seen that with the passing away of time, Jainism migrated from its birth place to south and west. The Rajaput dynasties of Rajasthan and

Gujarat gave enough patronage to Jainism after 6th century A.D. It seems odd that the war and violence loving Rajputs patronized Jainism. Why?. The reasons there of seems to be many. By virtue of their simplicity and aptitude of detachment and renunciation, and non-violent life style, the Jain *dharmacharyas* influenced and impressed the contemporary rulers a lot. The followers of Jainism were normally businessmen who had a wonderful skill of earning riches, and the habit of amassment and accumulation. Hence, this class remained wealthy but frugal with an inclination towards religion. The rulers, the feudals and ignored ones and the poor all looked to them for their cooperation and credit and loan facilities. Because of this, they continued to receive favours from the Hindu kings/rulers. This further resulted in the conversion of Vaishnava creditors and Shaiva Rajputs to Jainism. And the Shvetambara sect showed its zeal to assimilate many of their elements and attributes. Therefore, this sect spread more in west India in comparison to the Digambara sect.

Since a good number of people from the Hindu fold adopted Jain religion, Jainism could get many expert financiers and able administrators. By dint of their wisdom, intellect, many-sided view, miscellaneous knowledge, and eloquence, the Jains could easily get the posts of ministers, generals, treasurers, store-keepers, advisers and assayers of metals and minerals during the regime and reign of different rulers. On account of this, while they could succeed in amassing much wealth on the one hand, they also stood triumphant in the execution of expensive religious activities and in giving shape to unique and wonderful construction-works.

But the entry of new outer elements into Jainism paved way for its deformation, disparagement and depravations. Laxity of conduct became routine. Even traditional Jain religion could not protect itself much by opposing the then prevailing incongenial climate. Seeing the grandeur of the Bhattaraka sect of the Digambaras, the Shvetambaras also grew restless. The recluses of the forest were dragged behind and the Chityavasis enjoying all mundane pleasures took the reigning power into confidence.

The Chaityavasi tradition originated in the Shvetambara sect the same way as did the Bhattaraka sect. The *Shramanas* inclined towards laxity in conduct (*shithilachara*) can be held responsible for establishing this tradition. The Chaityavasi *sangha* was established in V.S. 820 (Vira Nirvana Samvat). The *shramana-shramani* class or order of the Chaityavasi *Sangha* came to be known as Chityavasi. The Chaityavasi *sadhus* abandoned *Viharas* as their residences, and began to live permanently in *chaityas*. The *sadhus*, receiving money from the devotees, built up their own temples. Therein they had their own kitchens from where they took the traditionally prohibited diet. Thus started deviation from the tradition and scriptural *agams* (canons). Gradually, the Chaityavasi tradition became very popular, and it spread far and wide, especially in west Indian reign.

As such the *suris* and the *acharyas* could not keep mum for long. During early mediaeval period, Deva *Suri*, Nemichandra *Suri*, Udyotana *suri*, Vardhmana *Suri*, Buddhisagara *Suri* and most influential Jinachandra *Suri* in Gujarat, and Haribhadra *Suri* and Jinavallabha *Suri* etc. in Rajasthan respectively set up the Vidhimarga once again by defeating Chaityavasis in the light of their eloquence, wisdom, knowledge and intellectual brilliance. And thus they brought back the original strength of Jainism.

Nevertheless, some of the *gachchas* still remained Under the influence of the Chaityavasis. Among these, the Sandera *gachcha* was the one that spread extensively in Kathiwar and Rajasthan, especially, in Mewar region between 14th and 16th century. *Acharya* Yasodeva *Suri* had established this *gachcha* in Sandera of Rajasthan. Similarly, the Raja *gachcha* tradition started from a detached ruler Nanna Sur of Talawada. That immediately merged into that of Vanavsis.

Thought it is not possible to give a description of all the *gachchas* and their *acharyas* in this monograph, it seems to be necessary to give a brief description of the activities of the Tapa *gachcha* and the Kharatara *gachcha* of the later medieval period.

THE TAPA GACHCHA :

The traditions of the Tapa *gachcha* have hardly got anything to owe to later mediaeval branch or sub-branch; they are, actually, the developed form of the original Jain tradition. It is just a coincidence that being influenced by 12 yearly ascetic practices of the *acharya*, Jagachchandra *suri*, Maharawal Jaitrasingh of Mewar bestowed on him the epithet 'Mahatapa', and hence this came to be known as the *Tapa gachcha*. Later on, a larger section of the *Vatagachcha* started by a teacher-brother (*guru bhai*) of Jagachchandra got affiliated to this *gachcha*.

Matter-of-factness is that there has been an important and unbroken tradition of *acharyas* in the tradition of the *Tapa gachcha*. The Primal *guru*, according to *Pattavalis* was Mahavira and other gurus who went on ascending his *patta* came to be known as *pattadhari*. Different *pattavalis* give their description also mention about the different sects, sub-sects, *ganas*, *gachchas* and *Kulas* of the *Tapa gachcha*.

After Jagachchandra *Suri*, there came a decisive turn in the traditions of the *Tapa gachcha*. One of his 2 disciples, Shri Devendra *Suri* continued to behave in a precendet way, whileas his teacher-brother (*guru-bhai*) took certain liberties. As a result, the *Tapa gachcha* divided. The tradition of Devendra *Suri* was called *Laghu Paushadh Shalik* whileas that of Vijayachandra *Suri* was called *Vrihad Paushadh Shalik* branch.

According to *Pattavalis*, the *acharyas* of the Laghu-Paushadh Shalik after Devendra *Suri* were respectively-Vidyananda *Suri*, Dharmaghosha *Suri*, Somaprabha *Suri*, Muni Sunder *Suri*, Ratnashekhara *Suri*, Lakshmisagara *Suri*, Sumatisadhu *Suri*, Hemavimala *Suri*, Anandavimala *Suri*, Vijayadana *Suri*, Hiravijaya *Suri*, Vijayasena *Suri*, Vijayadeva *Suri*, Vijayasingh *Suri* and Vijayaprabha *Suri*.

Those who came after Vijayachandra *Suri* upto 18th century in Vrihad Paushadh Shalik branch were respectively - Kshemakirti *Suri*, Hemakalash *Suri*, Ratnakara *Suri*, Ratnaprabha *Suri*, Munishekhara *Suri*, Dharmadeva *Suri*, Jnanachandra *Suri*, Abhayasingh *Suri*, Jagatatilaka *Suri*, Ratnasingh *Suri*, Udaivallabha *Suri*, Jnanasagara *Suri*, Udaisagra *Suri*, Labdhisagara *Suri*, Dharmaratna *Suri*, Amaratatna *Suri* and Kalyanaratna *Suri*.

There started a separted tradition in the Laghu Paushadh Shalik at the hands of Somadeva *Suri*, a disciple of Lakshmisagara *Suri*. This branch came to be known as Kamalalalasha branch also after the name of Kamalalalasha, one of the *acharyas* of this branch. Many inscriptional evidences of the *acharyas* of this branch are available.

The most important and reputed name of the *acharya* of this branch is Hiravijaya *Suri*. He was a contemporary of the great Mughal emperor, Akbar. The available inscription let us know that *Tapa gachcha* was propagated far and wide by his near disciples, *Suris* and *ganis*. From the epigraphs, it is known that the Mughal emperors adorned Hiravijaya *Suri* with the title of Jagadaguru, and his Hiravijaya *Suri*'s) *pattadhara* Bhattaraka Vijayadeva *Suri* was given the epithet - 'Jahangiri Mahatapa'.

Many references to the different branches of the Tapa-*gachcha* are available to us from the *pattavalis* and the image inscriptions. These branches are : Nagapuriya Parshvanatha *gachcha*, Satyaya *gachcha*, Dharmaghosha *gachcha*, Agamika (Agam) *gachcha*, Purnimiya *gachcha*¹ etc. The Nagendra *gachcha* and the Malladhari *gachcha*, started respectively by the acharyas Nagendra and Malladhari also deserve mention in this respect.

Vrihad Tapa *Gachcha* could not be saved from sub-divisions, as is evident from references to the Ratnakara *gachcha* founded by an *acharya* Ratnakara *Suri* originally belonging to the Original branch.

The Achala *gachcha* originated from the Vrihad *gachcha* founded by the famous *acharya* Udyotana *Suri*'s disciple. The instance *gachcha* was very much popular in kachcha, Gujarat and malwa. One peculiar feature brought to light is that some later mediaeval *acharyas* began to assume the title of Bhattaraka like the Digambara *acharyas*.

THE KHARATARA GACHCHA :

The Kharatara *gachcha* occupies an important place in the Shvetambara tradition. The literal meaning of the word 'Kharatara' is very sharp, powerful, full of momentum, splendid or glorious.

There is enough difference in the lists of the names of the *acharyas* of this *gachcha* as given in different *pattavalis*. But in all *pattavalis*, the name of the *acharya* Jineshwara *Suri* is held in high esteem and great honour. Since the *acharya* defeated *Chaityavasis* in *shastras* in the court of Chaulukya king Durlabharaja of Gujarat, they were endowed with the epithet 'Kharatara', and their *gachcha* came to be known as the Kharatara *gachcha* of the Shvetambara sect. Gradually, this *gachcha* made its impact felt in Sindh, Rajasthan, Malwa and Delhi regions. The later mediaeval Kharatara *acharyas*, who adorned the Kharatara *patta* from the 13th to the 18th century were respectively - Jinapati *Suri*, Jineshwara *Suri*-II, Jinaprobodha *Suri*, Jinachandra *Suri*, Jinakushala *Suri*, Jinapadma *suri*, Jinalabdhii *Suri*, Jinachandra *Suri*, Jinodaya *Suri*, Jinaraja *Suri*, Jinabhadrta *Suri*, Jinasamudra *Suir*, Jinahansa *Suri*, Jinamanikya *Suri*, Jinachandra *Suri*, Jinasimha *Suri*, Jinaraja *Suri*, Jinaratna *Suri*, Jinachandra *Suri*, Jinasukha *Suri*, Jinabhaksti *Suri*, Jinavallabha *Suri*, Jinachandra *Suri*, Jinaharsha *Suri*, Jinasobhagya *Suri*, Jinahansa *Suri*. Mughal emperors Akbar and Jahangir had close and intimate relations with Jinachandra *Suri* and Jinasimha *Suri*.

With the passage of time, this *gachcha* also divided into several branches. Jinavallabha *Suri* founded Madhukara Kharatara branch in 1110, Jai Shekhar *Suri* founded Rudrapalliya Kharatara branch in 1112, Jinasimha *Suri* founded Laghu Kharatara branch in 1274, Jineshwara *Suri* founded Vaikata Kharatara branch in 1365, Jinavardhana *Suri* founded Pippalaka Kharatara branch in 1404, Shantisagara *Suri* founded Acharyayiya Kharatara branch in 1507, Bhavaharsha founded Bhavaharshiya Kharatara branch in 1555. Similarly, Laghu Acharyayiya,

Rangavijaya, Sariya branches of the Kharatara *gachcha* were founded respectively by Jinasagara *Suri* in 1629, Rangavijaya *gani* in 1643, and Upadhyaya sara. Acharya Mahendrakirti is also credited with the establishment of a sub-branch at Mandovara in 1835. Besides, the inscriptions speak of the establishment of Sadhu branch by Jinachandra *Suri*, Manikya *Suri* branch, Kshemakirti branch, Jinaranga *Suri* branch and also of these *Kulas* and *ganas*. Chandra Kula of the Kharatara *gachcha*, Nandi *gana* of the Kharatara *gachchas*. These are also spoken of Vardhamanaswami *anvaya*, Jinavardhana *Suri* branch and Rangavijaya branch.

Several acharyas of this *gachcha* installed many images and created vast literature. Many inscriptions are found in different parts of Rajasthan attest to this fact. However, this remained more popular in Jaisalmer and west Rajasthan. At present, Bikaner and Jaisalmer have *gadis* of this. The epigraphical evidences of this *gachcha* are available to us from 1090.

The *acharyas*, authors, poets, *shravakas*, and *shravikas* rendered wonderful services to the Kharatara *gachcha*. Literature produced by them all is not only vast, but deep too, this has its own dimensions. These contributors did not lag behind in building activities. Over and above all this, the *acharyas* of this *gachcha* with their wonderful capacity of propagation and digestion converted and ordained hundreds and thousands of non-Jains, especially, Kshatriyas, thus increasing Jain population beyond imagination. Others may well emulate them.

THE LONKA PANHTA :

It has already been seen that one Sirohi resident, Lonkashah¹ while transcribing Jain *agamas* (canons) in the *upashraya* of Yali Jnanashri found no mention of idol worship and hence he stood in opposition to that form of worship as prevalent then in the Shvetambara sect.¹ On canonical ground, he founded his own separate sect in 1451 called Lonka *Pantha*. This *Pantha* bitterly opposed installation and worship of images and emphasised on inner realization. Under the given circumstances Lonkashah got success beyond expectations². In a sense Martin Luther can be compared with him. Lonkashah presented 31 point doctrinal side along with its canonical interpretation. But, in spite of thick following, it could not save itself from division. In the time of the eighth *Pattadhara* of this sect, this was divided into Gujarati and Nagori sects. In the 16th century, the former got itself further sub-divided into two and the later into 3 branches.

In the Lonka *pantha* also laxity of conduct crept as it did among the Chaityavasis. Hence, one influential follower of the Lonka *Pantha*, Lawaji with his 2 disciples started Dandiya *Pantha* which later on became famous as *Sthanaka marga*. This too had no faith in idol-worship. This event is of 1657.

One Dharmadasa got self ordained in the *acharya* tradition of this *patta*. His 99 disciples, later on, divided into 22 *tolas* (branches/Sects). Hence, this came to be known as Bawisa sect or Bais Tola. These *tolas* were Lalchand *Tola*, Dhanaji *Tola*, Manaji *Tola*, Prithaji *Tola*, Balchand *Tola*, Lohodo Pithaji *Tola*, Ramachandra *Tola*, Mulachand *Tola*, Tarachand *Tola*, Khemaji *Tola*, Pandarathji *Tola*, Khemaji *Tola*, Tolokji *Tola*, Padarathji *Tola*, Bhanadas *Tola*, Parasram *Tola*, Bhawanidas *Tola*, Mukutram *Tola*, Manohar *Tola*, Samidas *Tola*, Sagji *Tola*, and Samrath *Tola*.

As the time rolled by, many more divisions branched off from the Sthanakavasis and the *Tolas*. For example, we know that Raghunath, Jaimal, Ratanchandra, Chauthmal sects sprouted from Dhanaji *tola*. Similarly, other *tolas* also got divided into many

sects. In Rajasthan, Sthanakavasi sect became very popular in the 17th and the 18th century. Many *sthanakas* and *upashrayas* were built.

One *acharya* of the Raghunath sect, Bhikhana founded an independent sect of his own in 1760. This came to be known as *Tara Pantha*. According to Bhikhana 13 included 5 *mahavrata*s (great vows)¹, 5 *samitis* (5 Kinds of vigilance over behaviour)² and 3 *guptis* (i.e. protection of mind, speech, and action). This pantha too was a non-believer in idol-worship. This sect spread much in Mewar and Marwar regions in the 18th century.

The Lonka *Pantha* too did not go alright. *Muni Bija* (Vijaya) of this *gachcha* Propounded Bija doctrine in 1513. This favoured image worship. Similarly, Kadua Shah, a *nagar shravaka* of Nadlai formed his Kadua *samgha* (group) in 1466 laying stress on image-worship and giving prominence to the *shravaka* class. This was in existence in Gujarat upto the 16th century.

It seems, Lonka tradition was influenced on the one hand by the Gujarati Vedantists who believed in non-attributive or *nirguna* feature of the God. and by iconoclastic Islami monotheism on the other. Whatever might have been the condition, this *pantha* made the shaking position of image-worship stationary. This held Jain belief intact despite all odds, esp. those raised by Islam invaders who believed in iconoclasm.

Jain Heritage Centre

EPILOGUE

Later mediaeval Jainism contributed a lot to the cultural, social, literary, administrative field and also that of art of India.

A cursory glance over Jainism makes us aware of its extensive, huge and wide social background which was, more or less, an outcome of religious conversion' it also makes us see its religious background that was divided to extremity. It was divided into shvetambara and Digambara, conservative and liberal sects, and into idol-worshippers and non-idol-worshippers, into *mandir margis* and *sthanaka margis*, and into the groups of those who believed in status quo and who did not. There were non-liberals and revolutionaries. Thus, Jain society was divided into many branches and sub-branches. At the top, metaphysics and philosophical abstruseness did maintain its position, but this age did not produce scholars like Kundakundacharya, Umaswati (Umaswami, and Haribhadra Suri. No doubt, we do have long and exhaustive lists of *acharyas*, *Suris*, *Bhattarkas*, *Yatis*, *ganis*, *Upadhyayas*, but this time the exponents of *syadavada* (doctrine of 'may be') and *anekantavada* (doctrine of non-absolutism) were entangled in mutual differences, and the defeat of one by the other in canonical debates was their prestige-issue. They liked to walk on the golden crutches of those *shreshthis* who managed and organized *sangha-yatras* on their instructions, and regarded repairs of *dharma sthalas*, erection of *stambha* (pillars) and installation of images as a part of their religious duty. The Bhattarakas and their followers had made themselves an epitome of material and mundane comforts, and glaring miracles. They led luxurious life in a feudal fashion, and cared a fig for non-violence. Post and prestige was the only milestone of the lives of the *acharyas* and the *sadhus*. Conferment of titles by the kings, rulers, emperors and Sultans mattered most to them, and the spiritual and philosophical tenets of Jainism the least. They were most concerned about their political and social acceptance.

Besides all this, their importance and impact cannot be denied. They kept the flag of Jainism hoisted by their religious rituals. Many of them authored a number of books, and inspired their followers also in this pursuit. Resultantly, literature in the form of legends, *charitas*, poetics, memoirs, travelogues etc. was created so abundantly that even a voluminous and comprehensive book on its review or critique would be just insufficient. Attempts to protect old manuscripts and to their transcription were just wonderful. The Jain scholars wielded their master-pan masterly in the field of grammar, lexicographies, dialectics poetics, *shilpa-shastras*, metallurgy, and medicine. These admirable attempts could, however, save Jain society and its vital part from being damaged beyond repairs. Jain view could remain with grasping and following. Many published works and different *shastra-bhandaras* (libraries of the canons) and the protected manuscripts testify this fact. This will have to be accepted that the originality of literary and cultural creation could, somehow or the other, be kept intact and unpolluted. Tendency to look into the past became more and more prominent. But its reaction to contemporary set-up left all the rivals behind.

During this period, Jain society paraded its richness, prosperity, and high-level intelligence. Consequent upon this, the Rajput states of north and west India, Hindu powers of south and to some extent, the followers of Islam were kept hypnotised by them; and they also proved their inevitability. As such they were made ministers, treasures, stone-testers, generals, city *shreshthis* (nobles). Not only this, they were appointed to many other important posts. Indeed, they also succeeded in writing the golden history of their political knack, administrative skill, cultural decency, social prestige, economic and fiscal efficiency. It seems, it was because of this that the

rulers kept them in forefront on many fronts. As soon as they got rid of their helplessness or became free from their dependence on them and got hold of other better alternatives, they did by cruelly with sangrarsingh Soni and Muhanta Nainasi; they immediately side tracked them Without any hitch or hesitation.

During the period under review, Jains held monopoly over business, trade and commerce and over credit-system, but much alertness was practised in the expenditure of the income. Despite their valuable garbs, towering and magnificent mansions Jains practised *shila* (restrain) fasts, self-mortification and simplicity. All of their activities were simple, sans pomp and show and grandeur.

Truly, rich Jain *shreshthis*, traders, and officials spent very little on that common man, esp., non-Jain from whom they earned a lot. Contrarily, they expended profusely on religious deeds, and building activities. on the one side, there was contraction of vast human consciousness (or mental function, *chetana*), and on the other, readiness of competitive and self-motivated tremendous and unique construction works was falsifying those destructive activities of the aggressors and invaders which were, really, a part of their religious duty (which was bigotry), and a matter of Pride to the them Muslim rulers and administrators. Under such adverse circumstances, the Jain community belated the bugle of creation over destruction.

Though of course, change did take place in the religious rituals, faiths, norms, life-values and social traditions and heritage owing to the entry of the non-Jains in the fold, but at the same time, the process of metabolism and netabolism in the original cultural *chetana*, i.e. consciousness also continued. The process of disintegration and integration in the entire later mediaeval period lost much as well as gained much. Jainism however, continued to be inspite of all blows and buffets of different kinds from differet corners; it handed over its different aspects, phases, systems, methods and methodologies to the following generation or period in a more logical and conscious form just to be a big and a memorable chapter in the cultural history of India. And thus it proved a real blockbuster.

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